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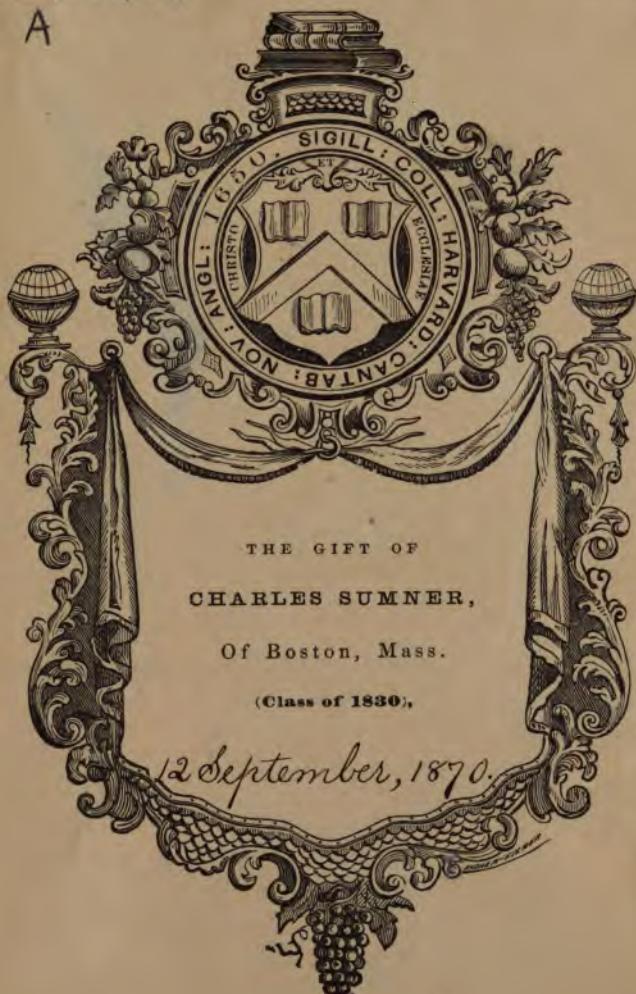
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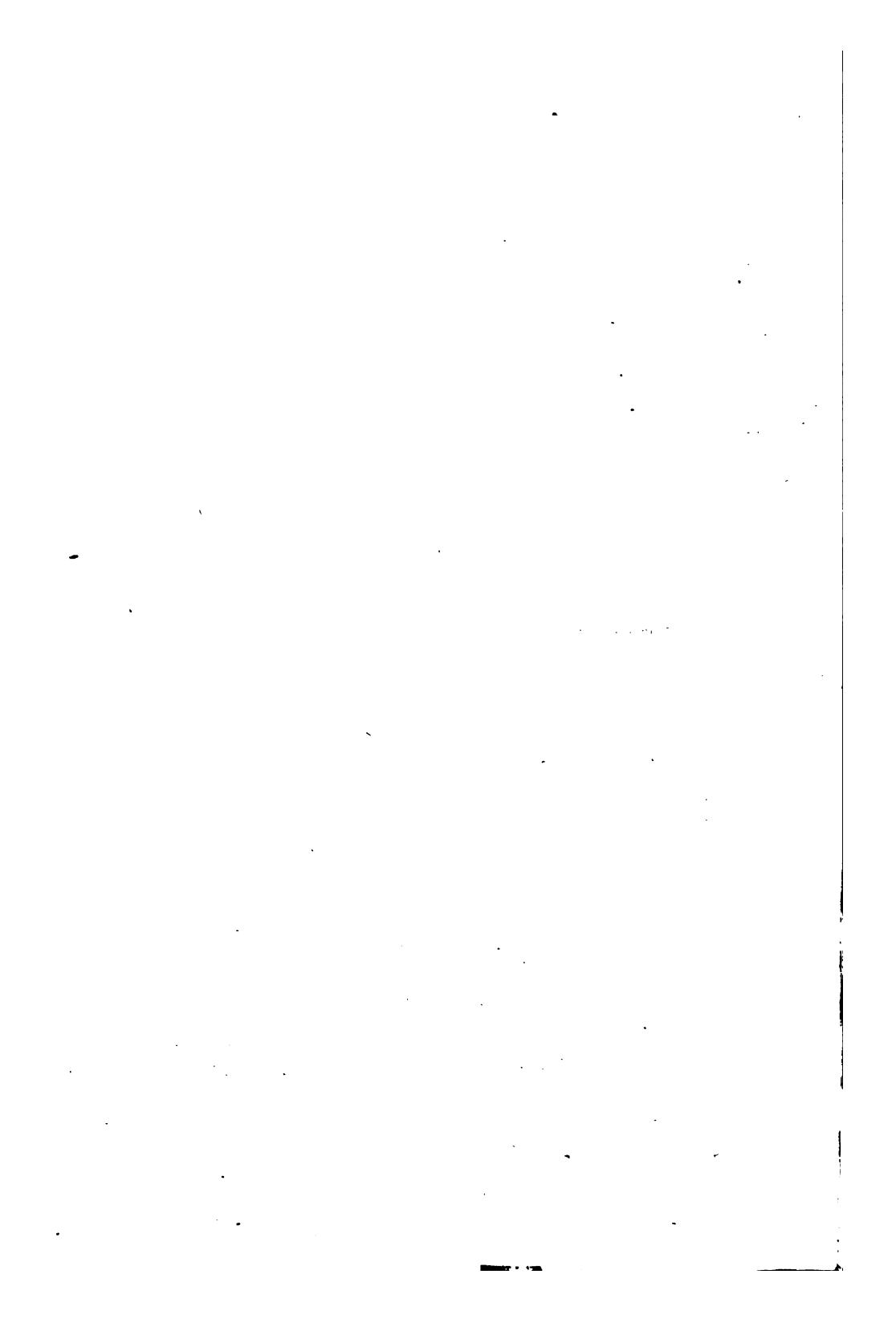
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THE
EAST AND THE WEST

By

AN ORIENTAL AND FORMER
RAYAH.

A THENS,

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THE EAST AND THE WEST

In a Pamphlet published some time since, we contended, first, that the East ought to be regenerated rather by the East than through the interference of the West; and secondly, that it ought to be regenerated rather by peaceful means than by force of arms.

The favorable reception which that work met, (translated, as it was, into several European languages) encourages us to discuss the Eastern Question somewhat more in detail. As some might infer from our second proposition, that we disapprove of the struggle which the Cretans are carrying on, we think it right, in order to prevent such misapprehension, to quote the following remarks on that subject, which we made in our former publication :

« The Christian element and particularly the Greek, though it has hitherto not thoroughly regenerated the East by the arts of peace, that is, by its literature, commerce and industry, it has nevertheless regenerated it, to a very great extent, and this without any governmental assistance, and notwithstanding the obstacles it encountered from the government and the fanaticism of the Turks. Neither the Cretans nor any of the Christians of the East would have had any disposition, for the present at least, to take up arms, if the Turkish government had not provoked them. Nor is it a fact that they were instigated to do so by any foreign Power. But when the Turkish government levies forty two per cent on the gross product of the soil; four paras on every vine, and twenty per cent on wine, the plant having been already

» subjected to two taxes ; when it taxes sheep, and besides imposes a tax on the pasturage, lays a tax upon cattle » and another on shoeing them ; when it levies taxes upon » houses inhabited by their owner and another upon the » estimated rent of those which are let ; when, not satisfied with all these high imposts, the Turkish government » demands forced loans from the people thus mercilessly » taxed ; when the Cretans' petition for the diminution of » their taxes, in a formal manner, and ask that a little attention should be payed to the impartial administration of » justice, the establishment of hospitals and of a Bank of » credit, the Porte, instead of giving any kind of satisfaction, demands a gurantee for their future behaviour, » otherwise it threatens to destroy them by its numerous » armies : In such an emerгенey, the Cretans felt compelled to leave their fields and to take up arms ; to die honourably at least on the battle field, and not to rot in the prisons of the so called paternal government of » the Sultan. If any other subjects of the Sultan follow the example of the Cretans, now in revolution, the Turkish government will have only itself and its governors in the provinces to blame. The regeneration of the East by » arms has already commenced, and no human power will be able to thwart it, until the wrongs of Christendom are » redressed.»

It will be seen from this that, although we prefer the regeneration of the East by peaceful means, we do not disapprove a recourse to arms, but consider it, under the circumstances, unavoidable.

To find the best solution of the Eastern Question, one should carefully consider the various elements which constitute it.

From the origin of the Eastern Question, two different elements have been in conflict, the Ottoman and the Christian.

Of the Ottoman Element.

The Ottoman element, which exists in the East as an intruder, was drawn to the East and conquered it, in con-

sequence of the crusaders, who devastated every region they traversed, and also on account of the religious animosity and ignorance which then prevailed in the East, and the spirit of conquest which at that time animated the Ottoman race. With the latter, it was a point of religious belief that « so long as infidels are to be found in the world, the faithful either must convert or exterminate them. » As soon as they got possession of a country, they deemed it their principal duty to convert or destroy its inhabitants. They kept and continue to keep this religious sentiment so faithfully, that, even at the present time, in many Turkish provinces every one who is not a Mussulman may commit any misdeed, and yet, if he declares that he embraces Islamism, be not only pardoned, but even rewarded for his crime.

M^r Felton, in his work entitled « Ancient and Modern Greece », relates that in 1843 the following incident took place in Constantinople: An Armenian, named Abacoom, embraced Islamism, but soon after, having repented of his conversion, declared a wish to return to his original faith. This declaration sufficed for his formal condemnation to death, and he was beheaded at Constantinople, the residence of the Ambassadors of the principal Christian States of the world. Strong representations having been made by the Christian governments, that such a barbarous act was a flagrant violation of the Hatti Sherif, the Porte promised that such an act should not be repeated. Nevertheless a similar occurrence took place the following year at Broussa. The news of this latter affair having reached England, Lord Aberdeen instructed Sir Stratford Canning to make strong representations to the Porte on the subject, reminding it of the promise it had given the year before. The Turkish Minister replied to the following effect : « There is a strong distinction between » custom and divine law, intimating that a practice derived » from the former source might be abandoned, to meet the » wishes of Europe, or even of great Britain alone ; but a » Law prescribed by God himself is not to be set aside by » any human power (1). »

(1) S. Ancient and Modern Greece by G. G. Felton Vol. II. page 266
— 270. Boston 1867.

Such scenes, we confess, are not to be met with nowadays so frequently in the provinces where European Consuls reside; but let us not forget that, according to the declaration of the Turkish Minister made to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the Turks consider the Koran superior to any other code of laws, and no modern law and no Imperial ordinance, nor any human power can abrogate the principles of that sacred and supreme authority, or diminish their binding effect on the consciences of the «Faithful». We ourselves witnessed the following incident not many years since: A malefactor who had committed the most atrocious crimes was condemned to death and conducted to execution. When under the scaffold, he declared his intention to become a Mussulman; in consequence of which, the capital punishment was not inflicted, and great honours were bestowed upon him by the Mussulmans and by the authorities.

In every country which the Turks invaded, they made use of brutal force and of the most treacherous means for proselytising the Christians to the Mussulman creed. Provinces inhabited exclusively by Christians, unable to resist the oppression of the Turks, were compelled to prefer conversion to the faith of their conquerors, all the ordinances of which they outwardly observed, while in their consciences they remained Christian, until the promulgation of the Hatti-Sherif of Gul-Hané in 1839, which encouraged them to declare that the Christian religion was the only one which they had consistently and sincerely believed.

It appears, therefore, that when the Turks conquered the East, they strove to make as many followers of the Koran as they could, and to exterminate those who persisted in retaining their own faith.

Having divided the land into feudal estates, and having settled upon them as conquerors, they left to the Christians the cultivation of the soil, the trade and commerce of the Empire, and intellectual pursuits, to exercise them for the benefit of their lords. All that the Turks reserved to themselves was, the so called administration of the country by force of arms.

This is so evident that in many a province, even in our days, the Turks, influenced by their religious dogmas, have

attempted to massacre the Christians for the single reason that they consider them as infidels ; and wherever the local authorities and particularly the spiritual Chief, the Cadi, or the Mufti, either from fear or for the sake of humanity, did not participate in the fanaticism of the populace, but prevented them from committing outrage, they acted, not by any sanction of the Law, which plainly prescribes the utter extermination of the Christians, but under "cover" of a sophism, by which they represent the Christians as a necessary evil, suffered to exist for the service of the faithful. Wherever the spiritual chief participated in or excited the zeal of the populace, there scenes similar to those of Djeda and Damascus occurred.

A diplomatic functionary some time since told us, that a most intelligent Turk, of high official station, in his indignation at the Cretan insurrection, remarked : "The fault is not that of the Greeks, but of our ancestors, who spared their lives when they conquered them. If at that time the Prophet's law had been faithfully observed, neither you (the Franks) would have survived to mock us, nor would the Christians exist in the East to disturb us with their insurrections, and give you the trouble to protect them."

So long as the Turks were animated by the spirit of conquest, they could impose respect by terror upon the nations they had subjugated. The caprice of a Turk was then law to every Christian in the Ottoman dominions. Living on booty, the Turks were satisfied with levying on the Christians moderate taxes, regulated in proportion to the wants of the State and the caprice of the provincial governors. Of those taxes a very small amount reached the public Treasury.

Every Pacha, governing a province as a feudal estate, was simply bound to send so much every year to the imperial Treasury ; beyond which he was not responsible for the administration of his province. As he had no fixed salary, he levied whatever taxes he chose on those who were subject to his jurisdiction. If the grievances of the Christians were ever taken into consideration by the imperial government, the Pasha was some times beheaded, and that without the least difficulty, if he happened to be rich,

as, in that case, his wealth passed into the public Treasury. But the taxes, once imposed, were maintained by the central authority. These Pashas, as well as rich Christians, were often beheaded, even without the least accusation against them, the sole reason being, that the public Treasury wanted money. Those who escaped such a fate became so rich by their oppression, that they often revolted against the government. Pasvan-oglou, Kara-osman-oglou, and the famous Aali Pasha of Yannina in Epirus, are examples in point.

When the Turkish element ceased to live on plunder, it commenced with a leech-like avidity to suck the blood of the Christian element. This is so evident, that one may safely consider Constantinople and all the chief towns of the provinces, as places in which nothing but new taxes are invented for the inhabitants of the Empire. In order to avoid the charge of exaggeration, we quote here from the report of M^t Barker, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Preyeza, addressed to Lord Lyons, English Ambassador at Constantinople, dated April 2, 1867:

« The Ottoman government (says the English Consul) » has never yet ceased to deprive the Christians of the » right of an equality of position, in courts of law and even » of equity, with that enjoyed by the Mahomedan. His testi- » mony is still held invalid, and subterfuges are still resorted » to by the Ottomans or their retainers, to keep the Chris- » tian in the same subservient and servile position in which » he has always been held by the Osmanli; nor is it possible » that it can be otherwise in Turkey, as long as the *Kiayas* » and *Canouname*, by-laws are in force, which have been » enacted by different Sultans of the Empire since the time of » Murad I. Consequently, no stipulations in their favour can » be observed or Hatti Humayoun enforced, or even a consti- » tutional government established, unless the Osmanli sys- » tem of governing, formed on those by-laws, is eradicated, » which system subjects to a servile condition every one who » is not an Osmanli, or does not belong to his train, or » profess the same belief; while it enables the Ottoman not » only to rule but also to acquire transitore ill-earned wealth » from the industry of his vassal. In many remote parts of

» the Empire where the Osmanli holds merely a nominal
 » government of the country, and even in Syria, Palestine,
 » and Asia Minor, this system of government has not been
 » much felt ; but in European Turkey it was and is still
 » rigorously enforced and felt. For here the population
 » were all Christians and those who profess the Osmanli
 » belief are, most of them, if not all, of Christian origin,
 » whose ancestors were induced to deny their creed, so that
 » they might be employed or protected by those in power,
 » and acquire the possession of the Christian's land. The
 » Mudir (Sub-Governor) of Filat has just passed here on
 » his way to Constantinople, and he tells me that the ques-
 » tion was not decided in favour of the Christians. In fur-
 » ther proof that the Porte has not sought to ameliorate the
 » condition of the Sultan's Christian subjects, and as in most
 » all the districts of this province they have openly ex-
 » posed their former condition in regard to the taxes, it
 » may be interesting to show the amount of taxes, contri-
 » butions, and dues, levied on them, and the amount of their
 » yearly earnings. I therefore herewith transmit a state-
 » ment which I have lately drawn up on this subject, which
 » proves, that taxes and contributions have been considerably
 » increased, and that the peasants, who are all Christians in
 » this and the adjoining districts of Arta, Radovisi and Å-
 » grafa, on an average do not individually pay more than
 » 2048 piastres (about 49 L) per annum, from which 1010
 » piastres are annually paid in taxes and disbursements to the
 » landlord and his train. Thus, only 1038 piastres remain
 » to the peasant for the culture of the land, for the main-
 » tenance of his family, himself, his cattle, and for the unex-
 » pected extra contributions. Whereas up to the year 1847,
 » the average annual amount of taxes did not exceed one
 » tenth of the sum they now pay. Thus the Christian pea-
 » sant in European Turkey becomes poorer every year,
 » being obliged to sell off stock to pay taxes and contribu-
 » tions.

» Your Lordship is probably aware that I have served
 » in the Consular career since the year 1828, having been
 » in different Consulates in Egypt and Syria, in Bulgaria, and
 » now in Epirus ; and have travelled and resided in Meso-

Jugoslavia and Armenia, and necessarily my opportunities for observation have not been limited either to Asiatic or European Turkey. The result of such observation on the subject of the Christian rayah and his ruler, is, that I consider the social condition of the Christian in European Turkey much worse, in every respect, than that of the Christian in Asia, who holds land and house property, whether freehold or otherwise, equally with the Mussulman, the Assairi, the Druse, or the Yazidi. With the exception of the Christian's testimony not being admitted in Turkish Courts of law all over the Empire, I do not believe that in Asia any one of these sects, including also the Christians, whether Greek, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite or Nestorian, are worse off or more ill-treated than the Mohamedans. But, at the same time, it must be understood, that the Mohamedans of Asia are as much averse to the Ottomans as the other sects, and complain in common with them of their rulers.

Very lately a translation appeared in the Greek news papers, received here, of your Lordship's despatch to Lord Stansley, regarding the recent nomination of M. Ballagi to a subordinate position in the Turkish Ministry of Finance. The Archbishop of Arta having just alluded to the circumstance, at the same time, observed to me, that he too is one of the members of the Medjisses or Councils here and in Arta; but when the Decrees are passed to the different members of the Court for their signatures, he, the Archbishop, is not allowed to attach his signature unless under that of the meanest Turkish member amongst them. In the Arta Court, his Eminence's name comes after that of a Turkish barber, of a disreputable character. My reply to his Eminence was, that he cannot be astonished at this, since the Ministers at the Porte seem to have lost in their Turkish vocabulary a term to denominate the sect of which his Eminence is a spiritual chief; for, in an official Turkish document, received here last week, his Eminence is designated as President of the non-Mussulman religion.

The Christians, too, have prayers daily in which they implore our Creator to deliver them from the children of

» Agaf, in the belief that the Mussulmans are the descendants of the illegitimate scion of Abraham. Since, then, » such disdain, hatred, and animosity as these simple » facts evince, are nourished by the rulers and the ruled » from their mother's breasts, what kind of stipulations » can be observed, or Hatti Sherifs be enforced in European » Turkey? I fear, my Lord, that, in my humble and sup- » baltern position; I have transgressed, in thus expressing » the result of years of experience; but I beg your pardon, » and trust that your Lordship and Her Majesty's govern- » ment will believe that my unreserved statement emanates » from a feeling of impartiality towards both the rulers » and the ruled.» (1)

The English Consul at Preveza, Mr Barker, is indeed deserving of gratitude, for telling his Government the truth so plainly, and particularly for the detailed statement he gives of the revenues and taxes of each family. If he had extended his researches a little northwards of Preveza, he would have discovered facts yet more astonishing. In the Nahayé (canton) of Corentou, and especially at Grammenohoria, twelve hours distance from Preveza, he would have found, that each family, composed of ten members at least, employs the half of them in tilling the soil, and gathers, in a favorable season, on an average, 100 kilos of wheat. Out of this there is to be deducted:

1º	For tithe and landlord's share	kilos	43
2º	For seed	"	20
3º	For «salaria»	"	1
4º	For the guard	"	1
5º	For clergyman	"	1
6º	For schools	"	1
Total			67

which, deducted from 100 kilos, leaves 33 kilos worth, or Pres 990.

Of barley, each family gathers 50 kilos, out of which are to be deducted:

(1) Sea Blue BMF 1847 is 81-3761443 via 2001/91

1º For tithe and landlord's share ..	kilos	24 1/2
2º For seed	"	10
3º For «salaria»	"	1
Total.....	"	<u>32 1/2</u>

Thus, there remain but kilos $17 \frac{1}{2}$, at 15 piastres each, making 266 piastres.

Of Indian corn, etc., every family gathers annually, on an average, 25 kilos. Out of this there is to be deducted :

1º For tithe and landlord's share ..	kilos	11
2º For seed	"	5
Total.....	"	<u>16</u>

Thus, there remain but 9 kilos at piastres

12 each making pres 180

to which sum adding the profits from barley

as above » 266

and those from wheat » 990

Total piastres 1436

Out of this sum are to be deducted:

1º Piastres 480 the interest at 24 p. c. on 2000 piastres, which is the value of two oxen,

2º » 72 the interest of 300 piastres, the estimated value of one donkey,

3º » 200 for deterioration of oxen and donkey,

4º » 120 the annual interest on 500 piastres, estimated value of plough and other agricultural implements,

5º » 100 for wear and tear of the same annually.

Piastres 972, which sum being deducted from the above mentioned amount, leaves annually to the cultivator a balance of 464 piastres.

Out of this sum 30 piastres must be annually paid for exoneration from military service for every male belonging to each family, and also a tax upon their miserable abode.

We cannot give the precise rate of this latter tax, as it differs in every district, province, and family. We might approximately calculate it at 100 piastres, to

which 60 piastres more may be added for the exemption from military service of at least two members in each family. There thus remains for their subsistence only 304 piastres. The reader ought to know that those who live abroad are not exempted from the payment of military service tax. We know a gentleman who emigrated to Athens in 1837, and was naturalized there ; his family, however, continuing to live in Epirus, had to pay the exemption tax for him regularly every year, and it was only on his father's death, that they were relieved from the impost exacted for a relative who had long ago become a subject of another sovereign.

With regard to the vineyards, after paying in kind or grapes 43 per cent ; in cash 4 paras for every vine, and moreover 20 per cent for the wine produced, it is well understood that there remains nothing to the cultivator, who gets indebted every year in order to pay his taxes. It therefore becomes incomprehensible how families can live under such circumstances. Their sole resource is the family association, or sojourning abroad. Brothers, and cousins of the first and second degrees, rarely separate from each other or divide their property ; so that it is not difficult to find in Epirus families counting from 20 to 30 members and very often intermarrying. Of each of these numerous families three and even four members constantly live abroad, mostly in Greece and in the sea-ports of Asia Minor, where they occupy themselves in various trades. To whatever part of these countries we go, we are sure to find many Epirotes as grocers (bacals), butchers, bakers or merchants. By their profits abroad they are able to pay their taxes at home, and support their relatives who remain there. Notwithstanding all this industry and patriotism of the Epirotes, the poverty and desolation of their country are daily increasing, from the causes we have described.

Of the administration of justice by the Turkish Tribunals, and particularly since the establishment of the Medjisses (Councils), the following examples may be taken as a fair illustration :

1^o The father of the physician Cosma Demetrius had signed, at Yannina, a petition against the administrative

abuses of Husni Pasha, governor-general of Yannina. The Porte, in consequence, removed this Pasha, but sent him in the same capacity to Efkia, where the complainant's son was married, and exercised, notably, his profession, being moreover in the service of the government. As soon as Husni Pasha discovered his relationship, he casts him into prison, arraigns him on a trumped-up charge before the Medjiss, which condemned him to five years' imprisonment and forced labor, and obliged him to sweep the streets. All this was done on a false accusation, that the unfortunate doctor had, on a journey, dishonored a Mussulman girl, eight years old, the daughter of the Pasha's concubine. In vain the fellow-travellers of the accused, who had been brought before the Medjiss by the Pasha as witnesses against him, swore that no such act was committed, and that, if it had been, it would have been punished on the spot. In vain the unfortunate physician invoked the testimony of two competent physicians to the fact, that the girl was still a virgin. The Pasha refused to admit any deposition except to the fact that the accused travelled in company with the Mussulman girl, and pretended that, as she was of the Mussulman faith, she could not be subjected to medical examination, especially since a Mussulman midwife assured His Excellency that the young girl had been outraged. Upon such depositions, the Medjiss condemned this medical gentleman to five years' imprisonment and forced labour; and this unfortunate victim of a Pasha's vengeance remains to this day in prison.

2° A certain Hussein Bey, from Devras, was denounced in 1864 for many proved misdeeds. Husni Pasha arrested and imprisoned him, but afterwards liberated him as innocent, on receiving a bribe of 400 pounds. Hussein Bey, on his return to Devras demanded the 400 pounds from those who had denounced him, and imposed on each of them a proportionate share of the amount. Those who refused to pay, he killed, and then demanded ten times the amount of their co-religionists, under the threat of a similar fate.

3° Some three years since it was decided to construct a carriage road from Bitolia to Salónica, and thence to Serras. It was then calculated that, if every family of the

Province were annually to contribute four day's work, the road would be finished in five years. Before, however, the road was begun, the four days' work imposed upon each family was extended to four days for every member of the family, and for every animal possessed by it; so that the villagers, families comprising more members, and possessing more beasts, paid incalculably more than the rich inhabitants. This state of things would be tolerable, if any success followed the enterprise; but, on the contrary, while the taxes imposed upon the inhabitants have been paid regularly for three years, only a few kilometres of the road have as yet been constructed.

4° Mr John Vlastos, of Constantinople, owned real property of considerable value, situated close by the bridge in Galata, at Karakeui. The Municipality, after estimating its value, took possession of it, on the ground of public necessity, and constructed upon it the Municipality khan, which yields a considerable annual revenue. The estimated value of the property was not duly admitted by the Municipality and its successive Presidents, namely Salih Effendi, Moahlis Pasha, Haireullah Effendi, and Seover Effendi, but a small part of the estimated value was paid over to Mr Vlastos. When, however, the lookless owner dared to reject a secret proposition made to him by Seover Effendi (the same functionary who is now on a « pacifying » mission to Crete), the latter refused to pay the rest of the purchase money, although he had, at various times, paid instalments amounting to L. 12000. This course on the part of the Municipal President gave rise to many suits and subterfuges on the part of the authorities, which ruined the unhappy owner. Eventually, a decision was pronounced condemning the Municipality, as we understand, to pay L. 52,000. The owner is still anxiously waiting for the execution of this judgment, while the Municipality collects the rent.

These are a few out of many examples, within our personal knowledge. We might cite others sufficient to fill volumes,

This work was hardly published in the Greek language, when the writer became an eyewitness of the following fact,

which took place before the eyes of the foreign representatives of the Christian European powers.

The Christians residing at Constantinople had made the formal acquisition of a large piece of ground, lying in the Taxim quarter, the title deeds of which they still possess, and which they had transformed, with the authorisation of the Turkish government, into a cemetery. By widening and straightening the streets of the town, the cemetery was divided into two lots of ground. One of them the government took arbitrarily possession of, and transformed it into an exercice ground on which the Turkish soldiers are now drilled. What is the most provoking in that illegal transaction, is, that, although the government had paid no indemnity for that unlawful seizure, it continues to oblige the Greek community, to which that ground once belonged, to pay such land taxes as were paid when that property was in its possession.

As for the other part which was used until lately as a cemetery, it was decided by an Imperial Rescript to be allotted for a church and the erection of storehouses, the revenues of which to be used for the support of the church spoken of and the hospitals of the Greek community.

But the Pera Municipality, taking the arbitrariness of the government as an example, commenced, on its own part, and without any authority, digging the ground and taking off the bones of the Christians buried in it, for the purpose of building storehouses for its own account and profit. The deteration was made in such a manner that in every other place it would have inevitably provoked bloodshed. Fresh human bones were thrown in to baskets with the filth of the town, and were carried off on donkeys, as a prey to the famished dogs abounding in the streets of Constantinople. The people having seen that profanation ran to the spot and stopped it by force, and immediately after, without any noise or disturbance, pulled down a wall which separated the cemetery from the court yard of the church, in the way of the building. By the wisdom of the Christians a great misfortune was prevented, which the Municipality by its imprudence, and by the profanation committed at its own instigation, would have provoked.

This scandalous affair was brought before the acting Grand Vizier, Fuad Pasha, reputed the most tolerant and enlightened Turk, by the patriarchate and the Ephori of the churches and hospitals of the Greek Community. But H. H. replied, that, till the wall thrown down was erected, he could not take the matter into consideration.

In order to explain this affair as well as we can, we ought to add, that opposite the late Greek cemetery, are the magnificent stone houses of Kiamil Bey, brother in law of Fuad Pasha, and those of Cabouli Pasha, now in Candia for the pacification of the island. These high standing Turks, the Municipality, as it appears, would have liked to gratify with a plot of ground, for the purpose of erecting horse stables, and that close by the altar of the church in course of erection.

This incident, we think, is sufficient to show the Emperor Napoleon to what degree the Turks are tolerant, and how much the Christians will profit by the recently promulgated law, conferring on foreigners the right to possess real property all over the Turkish dominions, and how much the Sultan profited by his late voyage to Europe, accompanied by his most enlightened minister, Fuad Pasha.

The English Vice Consul at Cavalla reports among other facts the following:

«Two Christians were, in 1864, indicted for, and convicted of, the murder of a Mussulman; Christian witnesses in disproof of the charges being rejected, while a near relation of the alleged murdered person sat as a member of the Court. The iniquitous proceedings took their course; a judicial murder was effected in respect to one of the victims, a felon's prison opened on the other; the members of this Court officiate to this day and the chief administrative officer who packed the Court and approved the proceedings, was shortly after promoted to a higher post in the Christian province of the Lebanon. The sectarian principles by which the law's administration is guided, further appear in the fact that no conviction for any grave offense has for many years been recorded against a Mussulman, and that, in several notorious cases of mur-

order by persons of that creed, no proceedings have ever been set on foot."

As long, then, as the Turks kept up the spirit of conquest, they could spread terror among the conquered nations. But no sooner did they lose it, than the people, that were most oppressed, being driven to desperation, resorted to arms, in order to free themselves from the Turkish yoke.

The spirit of conquest which animated the Turks, ceased about the commencement of the present century. Their last conquest in European Turkey was, we believe, that of Preveza, made by Aali Pasha, in the year 1800. Servia revolted immediately afterwards, and the Hellenic struggle, which shook the Turkish Empire to its very foundation, commenced in 1821.

How the Turks, how the Christians, behaved during that struggle, we do not here intend to discuss. It is, however, certain that the Ottomans, by their conduct in hanging the Greek Patriarch, their massacres at Scio, Constantinople and Cassandra, and their devastation of the Peloponnesus, literally realised the maxim, that *so long as Christians exist in the world, every faithful Mussulman must either proselytize or exterminate them.*

On the other hand, the Christians by their victories by sea and land, by the heroic defence of Missolonghi and by the bravery of those who distinguished themselves in that struggle, proved to the world that they are of the same mould as those who fought at Marathon and Salamis, and can produce men like Pericles and Xenophon. Even during those ages when intellectual darkness covered the whole world, the Christian element in the East never ceased to cultivate letters, arts and sciences; to pursue commerce, the civilizer of mankind, and to promote, as well as it could, female education.

The cruel, but far-sighted, Sultan Mahmoud discovered, during the Hellenic struggle, the decay and corruption of the Turkish element. Wishing to check it, he resolved, in imitation of Peter the Great, to destroy, first, the janissaries, in order to be able to restore order in the Empire, and to civilize his nation somewhat. He inaugurated the introduction of civilization, by the following atrocious act:

The army of Albanians, which had been employed for the destruction of Greece, during its revolution, claimed incalculable sums of money, due for military services, and occupied almost all the districts of Epirus, from which they derived their subsistence for many years. In order to get rid of these troublesome claims, the Porte sent, in state and with great pomp, its Grand Vezier to Bitolia, who brought with him a number of mules, supposed to be laden with treasure, and with the pretended double mission of paying off the arrears due to the Albanian army, and relieving the oppressed Christians from the exactions of the Albanians. The Grand Vizier, on arriving at Bitolia, summoned thither the chiefs of the Albanians to receive the money due to them; and, while the accounts were being settled, he entertained their soldiers, who had fought under his own commands, at a dinner in compliment to their military achievements during the campaign in Greece. Under pretext of doing additional honour to his guests, he had the newly formed regular troops drawn up in line on two sides of the plain, in which the banquet was prepared. The Albanians, who came unarmed to the feast, had scarcely arrived in the midst of the two lines, when they were fired upon, and about 3,000 men fell dead on the spot, and more than 1000 were afterwards massacred by the cavalry and other troops, who had been assembled in order to give chase to those who received the fusillade. Those who escaped and still occupied the districts of Epirus, indemnified themselves by remorselessly plundering the Christians, by setting fire even to the market place of Yannina. Such, briefly, has been the Turkish element in the East up to 1829. Further on, we shall examine some of its other qualities.

Then it was that Europe, having become convinced of the impossibility of pacifying the East, so long as the legitimate expectations of the Christians were not satisfied, instituted a diplomatic council in London, in order to pronounce its sentence between the two elements engaged in a deadly strife. Let us now consider the other element.

The Christian Element.

This element, as is well known, yielded indeed to the Mohammedan torrent which, in the time of its invasion, threatened to overwhelm the whole of Europe, but, though subjugated, it has never ceased to protest by arms, and, particularly, it has never stopped from cultivating the land, literature, arts, science, and especially commerce and navigation, as far as the terrible Ottoman yoke has permitted it.

On the mountains of Olympus, Pindus, Parnassus, Oeta, Agrapha, Parga and Souli, never, during the long interval of their servitude, were armed Christians wanting, who formed sometimes a kind of republic, as; for instance, in Souli, and Parga ; and at other times armed bodies of Christians, who protested against the barbarities of the Turks, and often gave asylum to their oppressed brethren. As for Montenegro and Mani, no Turk has ever set his foot there in time of peace.

It is generally known, that the hands of the native Christians almost exclusively produced and exchanged all the rich articles of the East. We need hardly mention here, that the Christians alone cultivated, during the whole period of their servitude, the arts in the East. The Christians of the East never neglected literature, but promoted it considerably. Putting aside, for the sake of brevity, the intellectual progress, which the Eastern Christians stimulated and promoted in the West, by the publication and translation of the works of their ancestors, we will merely mention the fact, that in every village of the least importance primary schools were never wanting, in which the Christian children were taught reading, writing and arithmetic. In many towns, and particularly in the monasteries of Mount Athos, ancient Greek never ceased to be taught, and in the patriarchate of Constantinople, ancient Hellenic was the language in which the Christians wrote. At Yannina, Scio, Cydonia, Smyrna, and in many other towns, schools, lyceums and colleges always existed, in which were taught not only

ancient Greek, but Latin, Italian, French and the elementary knowledge necessary to every man, such as geography arithmetic, geometry, algebra etc. etc.

The Christians of the East studied not only the above branches of education, but cultivated also the sciences even during the darkest days of their servitude ; they produced in the ancient or in the modern Greek language, mathematical, literary, philosophical and medical works, which even now are worth studying. Some of them were translated into European languages.

But the circumstance which mostly preserved the Christians from being absorbed by the Turks, is, that the latter have always regarded, and still regard, woman as a creature made only for the gratification of their lusts; while the Christian has never ceased to consider woman as his inseparable companion, through life, and bound to partake to the extent of her powers, of all the efforts, sorrows and pleasures of her husband. Consequently, while the Turks care only to possess beautiful and charming wives. They seek to preserve their charms as long as possible, and when these unfortunate women cease to possess the requisite qualities or the husband is tired of them, according to the Turkish law, he has the right to replace them by others. In the town where he resides, he is legally entitled to take seven wives and even to force them to live together, and, in places of temporary residence, he can take seven more wives, according to law. The Sultan himself is bound by custom to receive annually one wife whom his own ministers must select and offer him, and even the ambassadors of foreign Christian powers are sometimes invited to attend the ceremony of presenting him with a new wife.

The result of such a state of things is, that no Turkish woman learns to read, neither does she know nor has she any disposition to learn what Christians call, domestic economy. She is not obliged by any law or by her husband to educate her children, who, after twelve years of age, are even forbidden to look upon the unveiled countenance of their mother. A Musselman's wife regards it as her sole duty to please her husband and to take care lest, through want of personal attractions, he should abandon her for an other.

The Christians have never ceased, as we have already stated, to consider the wife as a companion, so that, when the husband occupies himself with his own business outdoors, his wife attends to the education of the children and to domestic affairs.

The Souliote husband was fighting, in the past century, against the Turks, for the freedom of his country, while his wife was making cartridges for him and was carrying provision and water to him on the field of battle. When the Souliote women were informed that their husbands could not survive the battle, they took their children in their arms, and, dancing, precipitated themselves from the rocks of Zalongo, in order to escape captivity.

The Epirote husband sojourns abroad, in order to make money which with to pay his taxes, and to support his family, while his wife does her best to educate her children, that they may imitate their father; takes care of her domestic affairs, and cultivates the land, to satisfy the rapacity of the Turk, and to preserve the country from becoming a desert.

As soon as the independence of Greece was established, one of the principal cares of its inhabitants was to adopt a system of female education, according to the requirements of true civilization and to the wants of a Christian people. (1) The Philopedeutic Society was established exclusively for

(1) Truth compels us to admit, that the first public school in Athens for the education of young ladies, was established in 1835 by M^rs Hill, from the United States of America. In this school have been educated numberless Greek young ladies, who have afterwards distinguished themselves as exemplary members of society. M^rs and D^r Hill, since they settled in Athens, have never ceased to be a great blessing to the East.

In imitation of M^rs Hill's school, the Greek society for female education soon established the Arsakeion, which has proved so beneficial to the whole Levant.

The formation and progress of the Society were zealously promoted by the late M. Rizo, Minister of Public Instruction, the late M. John Coccoone, director of primary schools, and many others.

M^rs and D^r Hill have always continued to take a deep interest in the Greek establishment, and exerted themselves to promote its success.

Thus, in connexion with female education, Athens, the ancient home of learning and science, owes a large debt of gratitude to the New World for having sent out so valuable a benefactress as M^rs Hill.

the preparation of female teachers. The progress made by that Society is such, that nowadays it has almost inundated all the East with female teachers and young ladies' schools, in which hundreds and thousands of Christian females are taught and educated, becoming afterwards models of wives and mothers, capable not only of educating their own children but of governing their own families in time of necessity. If we do not mistake, there exist in Constantinople alone about 20 young ladies' schools, in which are educated only the daughters of the Christian inhabitants : five in Smyrna, and three in Salonica. Not only in each town, but even in every borough and in every village of the East there now exists a young ladies' school, and, although the non-Christians are not excluded, we are informed that there are no Turkish pupils in any of these schools, except one, where there is a solitary scholar of that creed. The name of that establishment we purposely omit, lest we should draw upon it the attention of Turkish fanaticism. If our assertions be considered exaggerated, we challenge the Consuls of all the European powers and all travellers in Turkey, to gainsay them, if they can.

Such being the state of things in the East, and such the intellectual and material struggle between the Ottoman and Christian elements, we cherish the hope, that the European the Areopagus will assemble very soon, in order to pacify the East, as it did in the last days of the Hellenic war for independence.

But, before we explain what Europe must yet do, we deem it our duty to examine, briefly, what she has already done, for the first pacification ; that the lesson may not now be lost.

When, for the first time, England commissioned the Duke of Wellington to come to an understanding with Russia for the pacification of the East, in which philanthropic work France was pleased to take part, Europe had not yet ordered her Consuls to make inquiries in the East, with any idea of being told, as M^r Barker fearlessly told his government, that : « Since such disdain, hatred, and animosity are nourished by the rulers and the ruled, from their mothers' breasts, what kind of stipulations can be observed or Haiti

• Sheriffs be enforced in Turkey?» When England first conceived the idea of pacifying the East, she had not heard anything like this through the instrumentality of one of her own agents, but she had witnessed the massacre at Constantinople of 30,000 unarmed Christians, within a few days, and the hanging of the Greek patriarch. The whole of Europe were witnesses to the fact that the Turks within two days massacred, at Scio, 40,000 unarmed men and women, and carried many more into captivity. They knew that Crete, Samos, Cassandra, Souli, and many other Christian provinces were soaked with blood. The blowing up of the heroes of Scutari in Moldavia, and of the women and children in Missolonghi; who preferred to be thus immolated rather than submit again to the Turks, were tragedies, which struck the world with amazement, and persuaded Europe, that it was impossible for the Christian and Turkish elements to agree, so long as the latter dominated over the Christian provinces. But Christian Europe had, although she had seen and heard all these things, when she assembled diplomatically in London, to deliberate upon the pacification of the East, resolved to leave unburied the bones of the Christian victims of Scio, Psara, and Crete, and to put under the Turkish yoke the Souliote, who had never been subjugated; the Pargiotes, who were sold by England, as captives, and the heroes of Olympus, Pindus and Agrafa. By this policy she created a Hellenic kingdom like a body mutilated of its hands and feet; and loaded it with the dead-weight of royalty; that it might not be able to rise spontaneously and move too freely, lest it should become able to assist and protect its oppressed brethren, who still remained under the thraldom of the Turk. Hence it is, that free Greece has never had a strong government; for a strong government can not be formed and maintained, while there exist many national claims to be satisfied. How can you expect, potentates of the Earth, that a respectable government should be established in Greece? Is it likely that the Cretan, the Sciot, the Samian, the Epirote, the Thessalian, or the Macedonian, who have settled in the free Kingdom, will ever leave the government of that country quiet, so long as their brothers are under the Turkish yoke, and have to pay the

capitation tax for their absent relatives? It is unnecessary to describe here what the Turkish yoke is to this day. Mr. Barker has told you enough.

But the Hellenic government, it may be said, is a constitutional one, and promulgates laws by its own parliament, and, according to these laws, the treaties with the European Powers, who have repeatedly guaranteed the integrity of Turkey, must be respected. We answer, that every law ought to be based upon the unalterable laws of nature, or, as is commonly said, upon «natural right». Natural right imposes no law prohibiting a brother from sympathising with his oppressed brethren, or from employing every effort for his deliverance, even to the sacrifice of his property and his life. But Greece, some may pretend, has a regular army, by which she can enforce her laws. We doubt whether there be a single soldier in Greece, who would ever use his weapon against those, who plan and act for the deliverance of their brethren; or in behalf of those who, under the plea of treaty obligations, disregard the cries of suffering co-religionists. It is impossible, then, for Greece to possess a strong government, as long as she is deprived of her natural boundaries, and especially of those provinces, which have more claims to an independent existence, than the present Hellenic kingdom.

The European Areopagus, having assembled in 1829 in London, for the purpose of pacifying the East, or more properly speaking, of pronouncing between the Christian and the Ottoman element, deemed, that it was rendering justice to the former, by establishing the Hellenic kingdom; that is, by creating a dwarfish monster of a state, with a large heart and head, but destitute of hands, feet, neck, and even without the means of self-subsistence; which it took care to restrict, by imposing upon it the costly burthen of royalty. To the Turkish element, the European Areopagus said «Here is a little body, formed out of the enormous mass, which you oppressed, but of this little body we give up to you the neck, in order, that you may hang as many Cretans as you like, and govern according to your pleasure Scio, Samos, Psara, and all the other islands of the Archipelago. We also give you the hands and feet of the Christian element of Epirus, Thessalia and Macedonia, in order that

you may keep chained the neckless, handless, and footless Christian State, which we have been pleased to establish ; no matter though this new State is more exposed to frequent convulsion, on account of being deprived of its important members.

What has happened in the East since then, all the world knows. Twelve rebellions and insurrections have broken out in Greece, during that period ; its ports have been blockaded by the English fleet ; its capital has been occupied by English, and French troops ; and, finally, a king has been dethroned.

In the rest of the East great agitations have constantly prevailed, and sometimes collisions have occurred between the Christian and the Turkish elements. The massacres of Djedda and Damascus at last necessitated European intervention, or more properly speaking, the military occupation of Syria by European troops. In short, there has happened and still continues to happen all that the English Consul at Preveza described.

In order to prevent the recurrence of such disasters, Europe has counselled the ruling Turkish element in the East to imitate civilized nations, that is, to put the elements, which constitute the empire, on a footing of equality, to make laws, guaranteeing the lives, property, and honour of all its subjects; and, in short, to strive to enter upon a system of civilized government. (1)

(1) In order to form a correct idea of the financial condition of Turkey, it is necessary to keep in mind that, previously to the introduction of reforms, that about 25 years ago, Turkey had no national debt whatever.

During the last 25 years, the national debt of Turkey has continued to increase, and now amounts to L. 100,000,000. Of this debt, L. 80,000,000 were consolidated. For interest and gradual extinction of this enormous debt, Turkey pays about L. 9,000,000 annually out of a revenue consisting of L. 44,000,000. The Sultan's allowance amounts to L. 3,000,000 a-year.

There remain for the national expenditure of that vast Empire, only L. 9,000,000 a-year.

Let us now compare the financial condition of Greece with that of Turkey.

Greece, towards achieving her independence, incurred a debt of L. 2,800,000 ; out of which scarcely L. 800,000 was effectively received by the State.

Notwithstanding the apparent feasibility of those reforms in theory; notwithstanding the readiness which Sultan Mahmood evinced for their execution, by his promulgation of the Hatt-Sherif of Gûlhané; notwithstanding the even more emphatic communication of such laudable principles by his successor, Abd-ul Medjid's Hatt-Humayoun; and notwithstanding

For this, according to the late arrangement, she undertakes to pay L.55,000, a-year.

The three Protecting Powers guaranteed a loan of L.2,400,000, of which only L.400,000 reached Greece. For this loan, the State, according to arrangements, has to pay only L.40,000, annually.

In 1862, the State contracted an internal loan of L.250,000; for which it pays about L.20,000 a-year.

The accession of the Ionian Islands added to the national debt of Greece the sum of L.160,000: for which we pay L.15,000 annually.

Greece has acknowledged, as part of the national debt, sums advanced by individuals during the war of independence, to the amount of about L.800,000; for which we pay annually L.8,000.

In 1867 the government was authorised to contract a loan to the amount of L.4,000,000: of which only the sum of L.350,000 was effected. For this, we pay annually L.32,000.

Thus, Greece pays annually, for the interest and gradual extinction of her national debt, about L.200,000. To which is to be added the Royal allowance, amounting to L.50,000.

Turkey, since her reforms, has incurred a debt which costs her annually, for interest and sinking fund, two thirds of the whole national revenue. Besides this, she spends as Imperial allowance one fifth of the whole national revenue; so that only she seventh of the revenue remains, to meet the general expenditure.

Greece, indeed, incurred debt by her struggle for liberty, but she has now an annual revenue of L.4,200,000. Her revenue, at the commencement of the war of independence, was only about L.160,000.

Greece, thus, has to pay for interest and gradual extinction of all her debt, about L.200,000; that is, one sixth of her revenue. The Royal allowance, L.50,000 is about one twenty fourth of the revenue. The remains four fifths of the revenue are spent in meeting the ordinary public expenditure, and especial disbursements for the welfare of the country, and the progress of civilization in the East.

Turkey, having only one seventh of the revenue to spend in the wretched government of the country, is obliged to increase the taxes daily; to oppress the taxpayers, to incur new debt, and accelerate the ruin of the empire.

Greece, able to spend four fifths of the revenue in meeting the general expenditure, and confining herself to this, not only does not oppress the taxpayers, but is able to diminish the national debt, besides laying out

standing the repeated assurances, publicly given by the reigning Sultan, of his constant solicitude for the welfare and perfect equality of all his subjects, assurances repeated from time to time by every successive Grand Vizier, these long and often promised reforms still exist only on paper, and have proved to be altogether impracticable.

This assertion is not ours, but Mr Barker's, the English Consul at Preveza, a functionary who has studied the East for thirty years, and who has no particular bias, as he has said, either in favor of the rulers or the ruled.

Let us now examine somewhat circumstantially, whether these reforms can ever be applied in the East by the ruling Turkish element, and whether it is possible for the dominant race, to enter ever upon the path of civilization and constitutional powers.

Civilization, according to the real signification of the term, does not consist in speaking elegantly, or acting gracefully, in dressing genteelly, or in walking gravely, in pompous show, or external refinement of manners; but in living honestly, and in improving constantly one's moral, intellectual and physical condition.

a certain amount for promoting the prosperity of the country and widely diffusing civilization over the East.

It is superfluous to dwell on the fact, that a nation which is constantly increasing its debt, impoverishing its subjects, by every species of rapacious, as well as absurd and vexatious taxation, and by every sort of oppression and corruption, cannot, at the present day, be maintained within the bounds of Europe, to whatever extent it may receive foreign countenance and support.

Perhaps it may be thought, we have overrated the sum paid by Turkey annually for interest and sinking fund of the national debt, in stating it to be L.9,000,000; as the interest of the consolidated debt is only 5 per cent. It must be recollectcd, however, that this is the lowest interest paid; that the interest on many other portions of the national debt is 8 or 10 per cent; and that on the non-consolidated part of the debt, 20 and even 30 per cent is paid.

Last Baïram the sum of L.20,000 was borrowed. For this the Porte granted revenues to the value of L.36,000, to be collected within six months. In proof of this, I refer to the testimony of the banker Chrestaki Vito. We challenge those who are in the public service of Turkey, to contradict us, while we assert, that the Porte is at this moment, in arrears to them, for salaries, and pay, to the amount of L.7,000,000.

For a nation to advance in civilization, three things are absolutely essential :

First, Education, and especially female education;

Secondly, That the male population shall be individually self-supporting ; and

Thirdly, That both sexes shall be imbued, to a certain degree, with the spirit of patriotism.

Without these three qualifications no civilization can exist.

Of female education among the Turks.

Little evidence need be adduced of the fact that the Turks originally had no educational system. We shall only mention that the Turks are still, with regard to their character and religious belief, the same as the Mohamedans of India and Algeria, before they passed under the domination of the English and French. Just as the latter Mohamedan races governed themselves, before they were conquered by Europeans, in like manner did the Turks govern before their entrance into the European family. As the Geh of Calcutta had the right to behead as many of his subjects, as he pleased, and it is reported that within the few years of his reign, he beheaded 80,000 of them. So also, any Turkish governor or subgovernor had the right, until 1839, not only to cut off as many heads as he pleased, but to confiscate the property and attack the honour of any under his jurisdiction.

It is not long since the Sultan abandoned the practice of beheading any of his rich subjects, and confiscating their property, whenever the Public Treasury, or the Sultan's private chest, was in want of money. In the beginning of the present century, the notorious Aali Pasha of Yannina in one night arrested eighty women, belonging to the best families; condemned them, as prostitutes, without any judicial proceeding, and drowned them the very next day in the lake Acherousia. Just as the Bey of Algiers thought he had the right to slap the face of the French Consul, so the Sultan of Turkey behaved towards the representatives of Foreign Powers in Constantinople, until within the present century. It is not very long since the Seven Towers ceased to serve

as a residence or prison for the ambassadors of any powers, against which the Porte declared war. If, therefore, the chiefs of Mohamedan countries had been so educated, as to claim these truculent attributes of power, it is easy to imagine what sort of an education the people governed by such rulers must have had.

But though the training of the dominant Turkish race in the East, is such to this very day, some of the European Powers thought, that, after the promulgation of the Hatti Sherif of Gulhane, a new order of things would be instituted, and that Turkey would undergo a moral and political regeneration. The promulgation of the Hatti Humayoun of 1856, tended to confirm this idea.

If the educational standard of a whole nation, descended from a barbarous stock, having barbarous habits, and professing a religion adverse to intellectual development, could be estimated from the outward conduct and urhane manners of five or ten individuals, at most, who have been educated in Europe, the European Powers might have been correct in their judgment : Aali Pasha and Fuad Pasha are certainly perfect in Western etiquette, and can speak and write polished French; and there are probably a dozen other well known Turks, who have acquired in foreign capitals the requisite grace in wearing European pantaloons and *gants glacés*.

But polite manners are one thing, and good education another. Etiquette is taught at school, and in society; and every one is compelled by the laws of society to learn it, or is punished for his ignorance ; while good education is to be obtained only in the family, and chiefly from the mother, and must commence from childhood. No one has ever seen or heard of a Turkish woman who was capable of educating her own child, or, indeed, even fit, herself, to live as a reasonable intellectual being.

According to the Koran, woman has but one mission which is, to afford sensual pleasure to her husband. Not only is she not obliged to educate her children, but neither is she obliged to bring them into the world at all, and in order that she may preserve her charms, as long as possible, for her husband, in conformity with the prescriptions of the Koran

she frequently uses enormously expensive drugs which are specially prepared for inmates of the harem who wish to avoid bearing children. Hence the very sensible diminution of the Turkish population in many of the European provinces of the Empire.

It is well known that the Koran considers woman as a being of a much inferior nature to man, who is accordingly permitted to marry as many as seven women, and to oblige them to live together ; while a woman cannot divorce her husband or deny him conjugal rights, as long as he continues to provide her daily with about half an eke of bread, (less than 1 1/2 lib) and one tallow candle of about 25 drams.

Owing to the above causes it has followed that, while female schools are continually being multiplied in the East, in which the female children of all races, even of the Jews, are educated and civilized, no Mussulman girls have ever entered any of those institutions, and it is impossible for them to do so, as long as the Koran prevails, which considers the glance of a son above the age of twelve upon the unveiled face of his mother, as a conjugal profanation.

The Turkish government has, indeed, for some time past made laudable efforts for the instruction of males, and has endeavoured to establish some primary schools in the provinces. It has also established a sort of college and the so-called medical school, and an imperfect nautical school at Halki, and still more imperfect military school at Constantinople. But any provision for female instruction none of the Turks have deemed it necessary to make, but on the contrary all of them consider it against the laws of the Prophet. Hence it is that no Mohamedan woman knows any language but her own, or has ever received even the most elementary instruction. We hardly need say that, owing to all this, domestic economy, which is justly regarded among other nations as the basis of household and social welfare, and of every domestic and individual self existence, is unknown among Turkish women. It is obvious that if woman does not know how to manage properly the internal affairs of the family, the most lavish expenditure by the husband for its support will fail to satisfy its wants and to

contribute to a rational domestic happiness. But, what do we say? The alpha and omega of domesticity among the Mussulmans is —in the true spirit of the Koran— solely the gratification of sexual passions. Beyond this all else is considered superfluous and even adverse to the inviolable laws of the Prophet.

Such being the condition of woman among the Mussulmans, it is totally impossible to civilize the race by a nautical school, although it is mangaged by Englishmen, and by a military school, conducted by Frenchmen. Even, if all the wisdom of the West could possibly be transported to the East, it would not effect such a transformation.

This conviction is not entertained by us alone, but by enlightened men, who have long studied the Turks.

The late Professor Felton of Boston U. S., who travelled almost all over the East and who made a particular study of the Christian and Turkish populations, has published a valuable work in two volumes, entitled : «*Ancient and Modern Greece*». In this work the Author, comparing the Christians and Turks, declares that: «the more you civilize the Christian, the better he becomes; the more you civilize the Turk, the worse Turk he grows. (1)

It is not at all extraordinary, then, that even those Turks who are reputed to be the best educated or the most enlightened, and who pass during the day, in their intercourse with Europeans, for men of civilized and refined character, should at night, when they retire to their harems, become true Turks again, and perhaps more intensely so, than their remote ancestors.

How can you expect a real civilization from Fuad Pasha and Aali Pasha, for instance, when, from their earliest childhood, they have received no education from their mothers and passed half their youth shut up in the harem? What do you expect the fair *hanum* to say to her European bred husband, in order to make him milder in his habits, if he be naturally perverse; to console him, if he happen to be afflicted; to show him his paternal duties towards his

(1). Vide *Ancient and Modern Greece* by Felton Vol. II. page 264.—
Boston 1867.

children, if he be a spendthrift ; or to mitigate his anger, if he happens to be in a passion : to tell him, for instance, that Frenchmen are gentle and polite in their manners ; that the English in sorrow or in trouble find consolation in reading the Holy Scriptures, or that the Germans and Russians take such care of their children, or that the inhabitants of the New World have such and such characteristics ? The unhappy Turkish wife, outside the harem, which, is to her a real prison, has seen nothing and learned nothing ; she is entirely ignorant that there ever existed any Prophet other than Mohammed ; she is equally ignorant, that there exists in the world any king or Emperor other than the Sultan ; she does not know the existence of America or in what hemisphere of the world Paris or London lies.

One of the best mannered Turks, who had been a Minister and afterwards become Grand Vizier, said to a fellow-student in Paris —an intimate friend of his :— « If you ever come to Constantinople, I will receive you on terms of the highest intimacy, and even show you my harem. » The European lately arrived at Constantinople, went with his wife to visit, among the first, his old school fellow, who introduced the wife of his friend into the harem, visited him in return many times and treated him in the most cordial manner, but always as a Turk. In no case could the eyes of the old fellow student and intimate friend be permitted to gaze on the unveiled face of the wife of his mussulman friend, nor was he suffered to set foot inside his harem.

We said and repeat again that woman among the Turks has but one mission, which is a religious duty, that is, to please her husband. If, with this view, the European bred husband should converse with her on what he saw or learned in Europe, he would provoke in the heart of his beautiful wife, either jealousy or fanatical abhorrence. The Turkish wife will always listen with horror to her husband, when he talks of European manners and customs, and will use every effort in her power first to impress her husband with the same feeling, and secondly to monopolise all his favor and alienate him, if possible, from his other wives.

The more the husband follows European customs, the more natural it is for his wives to exert themselves to

detach him from his European ways, and to render him again a good and faithful Mohamedan. Therefore the more you civilize the Turk, so much the worse he becomes, having been deprived of an early education, and being obliged to spend nearly half his time in his harem, with one or more wives, exceedingly jealous, fanatical, and utterly ignorant.

If Europe would civilize the Ottomans, she ought to oblige the Sultan to convoke a Synod of the Ulemas, in order to abolish the law which considers woman as a being of an inferior order. Then she ought to send great numbers of Sisters of Charity to the East, and require those now there, to cease proselytizing, and devote themselves to the education of Turkish females. This is the only sure means of civilizing the Ottoman population in the East. All the rest, military and naval schools and universities are of little use; for, as long as the education of woman is neglected in a nation, in no way can civilization advance. Does Turkey desire to learn why the Christians in the East surpass the Turks in everything? She need not go to Europe or to Greece; let her visit the Christian quarters at Constantinople, such as the Fanar, Pera, and Tatavla. There, as well as in all the Christian quarters of the Empire, she will find well organized female schools, in which the daughters of Christians are taught by hundreds and thousands. Let her go, for instance, to Epivates, a small hamlet three hours distant from Constantinople, and there she will find an excellent female school in which 300 christian girls are educated, and which is maintained by the liberality of one gentleman, Dr Sarantis. All these pupils and 400 more who are taught in the female school of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at the Fanar, and those taught in other female schools, become, for the most part, good wives and good mothers, able not only to educate, but in case of need to feed and clothe their children, and to take care of their permanent welfare.

Let Europe show us one single case of a Turkish woman knowing how to do these things:

The following incident illustrates the social position, which a woman holds among the Turks. One of the most

respectable physicians in Constantinople was invited by a Turk, occupying a high position, to visit his wife, who was in great danger. The physician, being engaged at the moment, did not arrive till an hour after. In the meanwhile, the wife had died and was buried ; but the visit of the physician was not useless; for the Mussulman husband had procured another woman, and he asked the physician to visit her and tell him, whether her health was good, for otherwise, he would send her away and procure a third.

Of Individual Self-support.

Besides the education of the fair sex, we have said that the civilization of a people requires a certain self supporting capability on the part of every individual member of the community. How indeed can you expect a nation to become civilized, if each individual be unable to live by his personal exertions, and constantly stand in need of the fostering care of the government ? A good government does not provide permanent means of livelihood for the people : it suffices that it remove obstacles, and afford them facilities for supporting themselves, each one by his own labours. It is only thus that individuals can constitute a society of reasonable beings, susceptible of training and civilization. Those communities, on the contrary, which mostly consist of persons incapable of providing for themselves, are like a herd of dumb animals, which, without a shepherd, cannot procure food or water. Let us now examine what individual self-subsistence the Turkish population has or can possess.

In all the interior provinces of the East, cattle breeding and tillage of the soil are the only means, by which the Turks procure a livelihood. But they carry on these pursuits in so wretched a manner, that, though the land is the richest in the world, and the best kinds of animals can be raised and multiplied in great numbers, the people are all of them in a most miserably poverty-stricken condition. They can scarcely subsist by these occupations, which in other countries would be inexhaustible sources of wealth

and prosperity. We may attribute this wretched state of the Ottoman population, partly to the oppression of the government, but mainly to their unsusceptibility of education and progress. The Turks are ignorant, and always like to remain so, of all the modern improvements in agriculture and cattle-breeding. Even in the purely Turkish provinces, it is the Christians who mostly practice all lucrative trades. Christians, for instance, are, generally, the grocers, the bakers, the tailors and the shoemakers of a Turkish village, and the merchants' brokers.

In all the provinces where the Christian element predominates, every thing is in the hands of the Christians, and the Turk can serve only for a soldier or an official. The profession of a soldier has, however, ceased to be profitable among the Turks ever since they ceased to conquer fresh territories, and particularly from the time of the destruction of the Janissaries, and the establishment of a regular army in their place. The Turkish soldier nowadays cannot enrich himself by plunder. A Turk, to get a living, must have some landed property. Leading an idle and squandering life, and undertaking nothing for the improvement of his condition, he is obliged to burden his property daily with more debts, until he sell it altogether to the Christians. If he does not possess any real estate, he tries his best to get employed in the service of the government, be it in ever so mean or ill paid an office. Woe to him, whether Turk, Christian, or Jew, who falls into the hands of such an employé. For the slightest service, even a sacred one, or one which, as a public functionary, he is bound to render, « a baksheesh » is rigorously exacted. This is one great cause, why the sums received by the public treasury are not a tenth of the taxes paid by the people.

While in all civilized communities the middle-class constitutes the most important element of society, such a class is utterly wanting among the Turks. At least the writer, a native, has studiously sought, but in vain, for anything resembling such an element among the Turks. We have not found any Turk capable of living prosperously by his own efforts, either as a manufacturer or as a simple artisan. A small number of shoemakers, basket weavers, and ven-

ders of Egyptian products in the bazar, do not constitute a middle class, a *bourgeoisie*; they are only exceptions from the rule.

If we could take away from every Turk the property he has accumulated by inheritance or by abuses of official positions, we should see even the most intelligent of them, not excepting Fuad and Aali Pashas, reduced at once to want and beggary; for they have never learned any useful profession and they are unable to do any thing to gain a livelihood. In all probability, a Turk never seriously thinks about his individual self support, which is the most important element of all civilized and well regulated communities. In such a state of things, we consider that it is all but impossible for modern civilization to spread to any extent among the Turkish population.

Of Patriotism.

Patriotism is so important a quality, that is has been almost by it alone that many nations have not only become civilized, but have attained the highest position and glory, and have subsequently transmitted their civilization to other nations. Without patriotism no nation in the world has ever been thoroughly civilized. By patriotism we do not mean simply that instinct possessed even by the savage or by dumb animals, which impels them to defend the place of their birth to the utmost of their power. Even the Esquimaux or the Hottentots resist to the death any attempt to drive them from their lairs, a mere instinct, however, which is found in the lowest order of creation. The patriotism which nations must possess, in order to be civilized, is that noble, sublime and almost divine sentiment by which the greater part of the citizens of a country are inspired to sacrifice, for the common weal, not only wealth, glory, pleasure and comfort, but every thing they most dearly cherish in the world; such as wife, children, parents, friends and their own lives. Such patriotism the ancient Greeks notably possessed, and, animated by it, their posterity at this very day, have astonished the world by the wonders not only

of their civilization, but of their discoveries in science and arts, and by their courage and many other virtues. Such patriotism the Romans formerly had, and by it they became masters of the world. Through the same patriotism 30,000,000 Englishmen, have become rulers over 200,000,000 Indians and other races. Such Patriotism exists among the French, who have for two centuries excited the admiration of the world by their achievements in science and their feats of glory. Through such patriotism the Italians obtained the unity and regeneration of all Italy. Such patriotism had and still have the Americans who, from being subjects of a distant nation, not only became masters of the New World, but even helpers and comforters of every oppressed nation in the old hemisphere. Such patriotism have all the other Christian nations which march in the path of civilization. The Christian element in the East has given, and daily gives, sufficient and surprizing proofs of its patriotism.

When, for instance, the celebrated Kara-Georgy, the deliverer of Servia, condemned his own brother to death for disobedience to orders, and insisted on the execution of the sentence, notwithstanding the prayers of all the chiefs of the nation, he afforded, in our opinion, a proof of that stern uncompromising patriotism, which breaks assunder the ties even of nature itself. Roman history alone furnishes, in the case of Brutus, a parallel of such severe and lofty patriotism. The bequest of the ever memorable Dacian Brangovans, by which he left the whole of his colossal property to his country, disinheriting his nearest relations, is, we think, another example of patriotism, difficult to be found among the Western nations.

What shall we say of the patriotism of the modern Greeks?

Six brothers from Epirus, named Zosimades, formerly subjects of the Sultan, unable to bear the oppression of his Pashas, emigrated from their country and found an asylum in Russia, where they gained immense wealth by commerce. In order to preserve that wealth intact, they resolved to remain all of them unmarried, and, one after the other, at death bequeathed all his property to their country.

'When did these ever-memorable patriots perform these things? At a time when their country was in servitude and groaning under the weight of ignorance and tyranny. By their munificence they removed the ignorance of their nation, and, by its education, contributed materially to the regeneration of Greece.'

A subject of the Sultan from Scio, the celebrated Adamantius Coray, though in a position to enrich himself by commerce, like his fellow countrymen, abandoned it, and turned his attention to the study of literature and science; and chose for his residence the seat of arts and sciences, Paris, where, living like a hermit, he applied himself to the education of his country. He succeeded so well, that his works on patriotism are admired by the most enlightened men of the Old and of the New World.

Another subject of the Sultan, the Epirote Nicholas Stournari, though he had a beloved wife and an affectionate child, almost disinherited these beloved objects of his, from a patriotic sentiment, in order to bequeath all his wealth to his country.

Two other subjects of the Sultan, the Epirote brothers Rizari, though very rich, not only remained unmarried, but even denied themselves the necessities of life, for the sake of bequeathing their entire property to their nation, and established at Athens the well known theological school, which is called after them «Rizarion».

Another subject of the Sultan, the magnanimous Epirote Arsaky, built at his own expense at Athens a palace-like female school, not to be eclipsed by any similar institution in Europe. Out of this school issue every year 100 female teachers, bestowing abundantly the benefits of instruction and education upon the fair sex, and disseminating civilization in the East.

Another subject of the Sultan, the Thessalian Plategeni, disinherited his own relatives, in order to bequeath all his property to his country.

Where did these former subjects of the Sultan bestow the fruits of their labour? On their native countries? Far from it, they had groaned under the Turkish yoke. All the Greeks from all quarters bequeath their gifts to free Greece,

which some of them have never even seen. We might fill volumes, if we were to enumerate all the astonishing examples of Greek patriotism. We have mentioned enough, however, to show that free Greece has, during the space of thirty five years —from the time of its regeneration— been adorned with many excellent educational and philanthropic institutions, which have not yet been acquired by some nations that have enjoyed freedom and independence for centuries.

Why should we look however, for past examples of patriotism, when we have so many occurring before our eyes? Scarcely had the Cretan insurrection broken out, when the whole of the Greek nation responded electrically, like a single man, to the patriotic movement of their countrymen: «*We will aid, they said, our brothers who are struggling for their liberty.*» And they did aid and do aid them in the most patriotic and effective manner. There is not a Greek, living under the sun, who has not contributed to the Cretan insurrection, in proportion to his means. Simple merchants, constituting themselves into «Cretan Committees,» and aided only by the patriotism of the Greeks, have been able to send to Crete not only numerous bodies of volunteers, but also arms and munitions, and provisions sufficient to support at least 200,000 souls, at least for 18 months. They have sent all these things by sailing vessels and by the famous steamers of the Hellenic Merchant Steam Navigation Company, the *Panhellenion*, the *Arcadion* and the *Enosis*, which, as is well known, have, through the skill and patriotic valour of the Captains and their crews, set at nought the blockade of the island by 35 Turkish war steamers.

Such is the patriotism of the Christians in the East. Let us now examine that of the Turks.

A nation, which abandoned the graves of their ancestors, invaded Europe, like a torrent, and during four hundred years remains as it were encamped in it, cannot have a country of their own, and consequently can have no patriotic sentiment. We even doubt if the Turks, long as they have lived in Europe, possess much of that instinct of attachment to their native place, which is natural to wild animals and

insects. Whatever the Christian element develops itself in European Turkey; there, it is observed that the Turkish element invariably diminishes, and retreats into the interior. Before the Greek revolution the proportion of Turks to Christians in Smyrna was as two to one ; now the ratio is exactly the inverse. In a certain hamlet of Adrianople, called Scopos, the Turks, prior to the Greek revolution, were three times as numerous as the Christians : now the Christians are five times as numerous as the Turks. Kadikieuï (the ancient Chalcedon) which was formerly inhabited almost exclusively by Turks, has within the last few years become a grand suburb of Constantinople, and nothing Turkish now belongs to it, but the name.

We had nearly finished the present work, when we read some other reports of English Consuls, which have been published in a recent Blue Book, and which fully confirm the preceding assertions.

We have proved by figures, that, in the Nahayé of Corento in Epirus, the agriculturist pays in taxes sixty seven per cent out of the produce of the land. The same fact is officially corroborated by M^r Stuart, English Consul at Yannina, who says: « I have now before me a return, carefully prepared, of the charges of every kind, to which a working farmer is absolutely subject, and they amount to sixty seven per cent of the proceeds of the farm, » (1)

We have stated that, as long as the Turkish element rules over the more numerous Christian population, the resources of the East will daily diminish. This is also affirmed by the same English Consul, who says: « Taxation has now become oppressive in this province (Yannina). The means, of the country are sensibly diminishing ; almost every year some new tax is laid, or some old one is increased. »

We have asked how it is that the Turks leave countries, where life and energy are developed by the Christian element; and another English Consul M^r Longforth, as if to answer our inquiry, says: « While the Christians have thriv-

(1) See Blue Book, April 16, 1867.

in fact and their prosperity is proved by their personal appearance and their having possessed themselves of the best houses, and most eligible sites in the great towns; or the Turks seem to be gradually shrinking from public view & into the obscure and unfrequented suburbs.

Still their demeanour is that of stoical endurance; poorly clad, badly housed, and indifferantly fed . . . still it must be with a gloomy and bitter feeling that they contrast their present with their past condition; that they ask themselves or others what further hardship and humiliation fate can have in store for them, they hear no doubt what all the world is constantly repeating that, they are sick and dying out of the land, to which indeed they never had a just title, being merely encamped upon it. (1)

We had supposed that the case of the inhabitants of the Vilayet of Salonica, who paid a tenfold tax for road making, though the road was never constructed, was an isolated instance of extreme oppression and extortion: but the English Vice-Consul of Cyprus assures us that even in that island just the same thing has taken place:

An abortive attempt, he says, was made three or four years ago to construct a carriage road between this port and the capital, a distance of but twenty five miles. But, instead of devoting any of the usual revenue of the island to this purpose, a tax was imposed on that part of the country, which was to have benefited by the undertaking and its labouring population forced to work gratuitously. After 3,000 L. have been expended in the payment of salaries to an engineer and his staff, and preliminary expenses, at the end of a year the work came to a close, the only result being of a detail for five miles on either side of the intended road. The present governot has since recommended the abandonment of the undertaking; But, travelling myself in that district only last week, I was surprised to find that the governor still continued to collect the road tax in one village, where I staid, having just paid 180 L. for that object!

(1) See Blue Book (Belgrade) vol. II, p. 114. (1)

Many of the inhabitants, being very poor, offered to do work without remuneration, but were told that money and not their labour, was required. (1). — *Lib. 1. of 1717 N*

Let us now examine the patriotism of the Turks under another aspect. A true patriot will sacrifice in case of need, every thing, even life itself, for his country. This definition of patriotism has been fully acted up to by the Christians of the East. When we could ask, has any Turk shown a patriotism like that of Stourmari, of the Zosimades or of the members of the present Cretan committee? When has any wealthy pasha, or other great Turk, ever offered a single penny either for the education of his nation or the assistance of the Turkish government? A million and three thousand free Hellenes with their fellow-christians, who are subjects of the Sultan, sustained and continue to sustain the Cretan insurrection, and fifteen millions of Turks, headed by their imperial government, and assisted by the military forces of the Vice Roy of Egypt, have not been able either to crush the insurrection, or to alleviate the sufferings of their coreligionists in Crete.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here that most of the Hellens inherit from the country of their birth nothing but the name, while the whole of the Turks have acquired all their riches in the present Turkish Empire, many of them being highly paid as its employés, or living on the spoils of the former possessors of the land.

But why should we lose our time in discussing and demonstrating facts, which are patent to all? Patriotism among the Turks does not exist, neither as it is to be found among savage nations nor among the brute creation. There does not even exist in the Turkish vocabulary an equivalent for the sacred idea embodied in the word *patriotism*.

The Turks inhabit even the capital of their empire, Constantinople a city prenuniently favored by nature, as if they were merely encamped there. This fact has been remarked by one of their warmest friends, Mr Longworth, the English Consul general at Belgrade, in his report to Lord Lyons; and the strongest evidence of it is that all the Turkish

(1) See Blue Book, «Larissa Cyprua» etc.

houses in Constantinople, even those of the Pashas and great Turks, are, almost without exception, built of wood. (1) What is to be said of its streets, their filth, the carcasses of dead animals, left to decompose in them, the cemeteries, and the many other evils, which the Turks, destitute of patriotism, because they are destitute of a country, suffer to infect, and mar a site of almost unparalleled beauty and salubrity? To form an idea of the utter neglect of the Turks for the place of their abode, we have only to go through those quarters in Constantinople which are exclusively inhabited by them. There he will be shocked by everything that is repulsive to the sight, jarring to the ear, and abhorrent to all the senses, though the streets, in which such abominations are encountered, are frequented day and night by ministers of state and Pashas, and not unfrequently honored by the passage of the Sultan himself. Here he will find a dozen dogs contending for a bone; there the dead carcasses of cats and rats and other animals rotting in the open air, emitting noisome odours, and swarming with worms: in another place a stagnant mephitic; at almost every step he is in danger of breaking his legs from the roughness of a most miserable pavement, or of strumbling upon the carcass of a dead animal, or he is obliged to step carefully over sleeping dogs, whose teeth will quickly resent any disturbance of his slumbers, and he may consider himself fortunate, if the dog happens not to be mad. If he be

(1) The practice of building houses of wood is the reason why fires in Constantinople are always so destructive. In the last great conflagration, in 1865, no fewer than a thousand houses were burnt the ground. A subscription was set on foot for the double purpose to relieving the sufferers and diminishing the chances of the reccurance of a like disaster by assisting the owners of the houses which had been destroyed to rebuild them of stone instead of wood. The fund which was mainly contributed to by native and foreign Christians reached the sum of L. 4,900,000 francs or L.76,000 sterling, and the distribution was entrusted to the Porte! From that day to this, not one of the persons for whose benefit the money was raised has received a single para, part of it no doubt went in to the pockets of some high officials, and part perhaps into the State Treasury. Here we have a fact notorious to any one in Constantinople, and only recently alluded to in a native Turkish paper, the Mukbir (Vide Mukbir. Od. 30 1867), which affords at the same time a striking illustration both of Turkish patriotism and honesty.

walking in a hurry in the winter season, he is pretty sure to slip at full length in the mud, or lose one of his overshoes. Woe to him who unwittingly disturbs a *hanum*; he may congratulate himself, if nothing worse befalls him, than a volley of vituperation from her, seasoned with frequent repetitions of the epithet «*giazour*». Generally, satisfaction will be demanded of him, or at least a *bachchish*; otherwise the Turkish urchins and negresses, instigated by some strapping Turk, will pelt the stranger with mud and stones. Such is the state of the streets of a city, which, if it were in the hands of a Christian Government, would be unrivalled among the capitals of Europe.

For the sake of those who have not visited Constantinople, and who might consider our picture exaggerated, we transcribe the following trustworthy corroborations of the description we have given of it :

«Constantinople is, even to this day, a hospital, that is the capital, which, on account of its natural privileges, ought to be the healthiest place in the world, owes most of its endemic and epidemic diseases to its unclean and badly aired streets, which resemble drains.» (1)

» The filthiness of the streets of Constantinople is as proverbial as its outward beauty (2). Cassim Pasha is a miserable quarter of Constantinople, inhabited by poor Turks. I walked through its main streets, having on each side stores and small barracks, and in the middle exposed » to the open air, a rivulet or a kind of a drain very offensive, and crossed here and there by small bridges.» (3)

The Minarets and Mosques, which are the principal monuments all over Turkey, are erected from a sentiment of piety or fanaticism, and never from a patriotic one. The Turks apparently wish to leave behind them in European Turkey traces of their religion, and, for that reason, they use stone only in the erection of mosques and minarets.

The Turks do not seem to consider it their own country,

(1) See Edouard Charetier reforms in Turkey Paris 1858 p. 415.

(2) See Ubicini la Turquie actuelle Paris 1855, pag. 77.

(3) See Constantinople par Theophile Gautier, Paris 1867, page 260.

for, they have erected no useful monuments in it; but, on the contrary, have destroyed every thing subservient to the artistic and commercial wants of a people. In Broussa, for instance, there were many manufactories of excellent silk and gold twisted stuffs; the greater part of those establishments no longer exist. At Ampelakia an immense quantity of cotton threads were dyed and sent to Europe for the manufacture of indelible tissues. The rich manufacturers of Lambelakia of former times, have been ruined by the oppression and ignorance of the Turks. At Cozani, Turnovo, and Aia in Thessaly, and in other places, were once made excellent cotton stuffs, with which most of the inhabitants of the East were formerly clothed; now the inhabitants of those very places, as well as of the rest of the East, are dressed in the prints and calicoes of England. The hides called *tellatinia* once constituted so profitable an industry in European Turkey, that they sold even in Europe; but nowadays all hides come from the West. The reader must not imagine that the Turks imported these arts from Asia. By no means, these and many other manufactories flourished in the hands of the Christians before the Turkish era, and were only destroyed under the domination of the present rulers of the country.

Whoever does not care to do any good to his native country, but, on the contrary, destroys whatever good he found in it, cannot consider the land he inhabits, as his own country, and must be totally devoid of patriotism.

It may be said, that the Turks have not as yet been able to learn the value of patriotism, or to imitate the Europeans, having but lately had intercourse with them. But, in the first place, patriotism is not acquired by teaching, as it is a natural quality; secondly, the Turks did not require to mingle with Europeans, in order to learn what patriotism is; they only needed to have observed with attention their Greek subjects of the past and present generations, whose history would have shown them what could be accomplished by pure patriotism in the space of scarcely thirty years.

A nation, which considers woman as being of inferior nature; a nation, whose fundamental law forbids her instruction and education; a nation among which individual self-sup-

port is unknown; a nation, whose language wants the sacred term *patriotism*, such a nation, we say, is incapable of true civilization with all the military and naval schools which may be established among it, under European auspices or the elegant fashions, which may be introduced by Turks, who have been educated in western capitals; for, as Mr Felton says, the more you civilize the Turk, the worse Turk he becomes.

Our conclusion is, therefore, that the Turkish element should cease to be the ruling element, at least in any part of the continent of Europe; and that, for the sake of humanity, peace, and civilization, the government of the European provinces of the present Ottoman Empire, ought to be in the hands of the Christian majority.

It will be said, however, that as there are many Christian races in Turkey, the difficulty is which of them should be elected by the European Powers as the successors of the present rulers. Among the numerous Christian races, which those who oppose the definitive solution of the Eastern Question, are pleased to represent as unable to agree among themselves with respect to the distribution of the moribound Turks inheritance, there are, but three, which properly constitute nationalities:—the Slavic, the Dacian or Roumanian, and the Greek races. The rest, such as the Albanians, the Meridites, the Bosnians, the Bulgarians, and the Armenians either do not constitute nationalities desirous or capable of acquiring an independent existence, or they are absorbed in the three great races, enumerated above. The Albanians and the Meridites, for instance, are so inseparable from the Greek race, that the Albanians and the descendants of George Castrioti (Sckenderbey) pride themselves on being the genuine descendants of the ancient Pelasgi. The Slavic origin of the Bulgarians race is indisputable. With regard to the Bosnians and the Armenians, the former settled, as they are, in the midst of the Hellenic race, and connected with the Albanians, and the Slaves, by their vicinity to Serbia and Montenegro, will certainly prefer to constitute a part of a Greek or Slavic nation, rather than to remain in their present pitiful condition.

The mild and docile Armenians, though they form as a

distinct race, 'have never evinced any desire to establish a separate state of their own, but rather to annex themselves to the Hellenic or Greek, race not only politically, bat even religiously (1). We entertain no doubt that the approximation of the Armenians to the Greeks will in course of time lead to a complete fusion of the two races, for happily the time of religious divisions is over, and we live in an era of political assimilation.

Hence it is evident that there are three Christians races in the East, each one capable of constituting a reparate State, while, happily, no one nationality is imbued with a desire to conquer or absorb another, and no cause of irreconcilable enmity or jealousy exists between them. On the contrary the identity of their past sufferings and of their religious faith binds them together in the most fraternal manner. The difference of the origin of their manners and customs, and particularly the difference of language among the Christian races is so great, that none of them can assume pretensions to conquer or absorb the other.

History teaches us that in the middleages some astonishing invasions and conquests of one of these races by another took place ; but every thing soon after returned to its natural state. For example, though the Hellenic origin of the Epirotes, cannot be doubted, from their modern lan-

(1) Those are pleased to represent the Christian element in the East as devide into numberless races, and religious creeds, have subdivided even the Hellenic, race into two, namely, the «Hellenic» and «Greek» races; by the last designation being understood the Greek subjects of Turkey.) We would ask however in what do the Greeks of Constantinople, of Smyrna, of Scios, or of the Archipelago differ from the inhabitants of free Greece? Do they not all consider Greece their mother-country? Are they not all of the same pure Hellenic origin, of the same language and the same religion? Have they not all fought gloriously for their independence? Do they not all contribute the means for effecting the deliverance of their common Country? Even those who live in free Greece gratefully acknowledge, that most of their philanthropic and educational institutions have been erected and are maintained by the bequests and contributions of Greeks living abroad, many of these subjects of Turkey, such as Zosimades, Rizari, Arsachi, Teskia, Stournari, Hadzi-Costa whom the latin subjects (Latin rayahs) of Turkey are pleased to call not «Hellenes» but «Greeks». The motive for making this distinction is to confound the true Greeks who are Hellenic

guage, and most of their manners and customs, nevertheless nearly nine tenths of the existing names of the villages and places in Epirus have a purely Slavic origin. Out of 84 villages, which constitute the nahayé (canton) of Carensa, only the following seven have greek names;— Grammeno, Spileon, Kokinokoma, Rodotopi, Protopapa, Stavraki and Cardamidja ; While all the rest have Slavic names, such as Zitza, Caritza, Veltzista, Vravori, Tzeryani, Dobro, Cohniska, Pogdora, Mospina, Cosmira, Covilliani, Arahovitza, Vayaniti, Bezduni, Sadovitza, Zelova, Ntzundila etc. etc.

History also informs us that in the middle ages great invasions and conquests of the Slavonic race took place in Epirus. One of those invasions was apparently so important, that wherever the conquerors settled, they gave the place a name in their own language, hoping, perhaps, by that means to slavonise the conquered Epirote Greeks, and their land. But happily the names only of some hamlets and places in Epirus have remained Slavonic, while everything else succumbed to the Hellenic element. Subsequent invasions and conquests equally failed to un-hellenise the Greek race.

The Greeks have no pretensions to conquer or to hellenise the Slavs and the Dacians, nor do the latter want to turn the Greeks into Slaavs or Dacians. The only thing these races tenderly desire is the entire independence of each, and the agglomeration of all the members of each of them into one compact body, and especially their complete deliverance from the intolerable Turkish yoke. No human power in our opinion can resist this desire. The only thing, which will hereafter bind together these races will be a noble emulation and a brotherly help in the promotion of their common civilization. They will never forget their common sufferings during servitude, and that the Slavic race, repre-

in their origin, their character, their aspirations, with the mongrel subjects of the Porte, who are the descendants of Genovese, Venetian or French settlers in the Levant, and who, though they use the Romane as their vernacular, disdain to be called «Greek», but classify themselves, by a religious instead of a national distinction, as «Catholics». These latter continually slander the other Christian races in the East and especially the Hellenic race.

seated by Servia, first commenced the struggle for emancipation from the Turkish yoke, and that it was in Dacia that the revolution broke out, which ended in the Independence of Greece, and that the latter is capable of again becoming, at all events, for the East and the barbarous nations of Asia, what she was in ancient times,—the centre of science and civilization. If diplomacy does not obstruct by new treaties the regeneration of the East by the East, there is no reason why a Washington or a George Castriota should not hereafter rise in the country of Solon, Peticles, Demosthenes, Alexander the Great, and Scanderbey, and of such modern celebrities, as Caratscaj, Botsaris, Miaoulis, Canaris and Mavrocordato. The elder West would not then estimate the East by the material advantages she may derive from it, but in proportion to its moral and intellectual worth. What the East might become under the auspices of a Washington, an Alexander the Great, or a Scanderbey, we need not predict. The East would be regenerated by the East, in spite of the Old West, and then, instead of inviting the Padishah from Constantinople to feast and deify him, Europe may welcome him from Bagdad or from Mecca, to pity and console, with him on the fallen state of an Empire which once made Europe tremble.

A russophobe European, however, may say: "These Christian races have the same religion as Russia, and, if we suffer or help them to get their independence, they will one day be united with Russia, will overrun Europe, destroy the work of civilization, and then the human race will retrograde for whole centuries, as Russia is a barbarous and retrogressive nation."

In reply to this, we say that, first of all, it is not true that Russia is a retrogressive and barbarous nation. A nation which, without the least political necessity, gives freedom to millions of serfs, and employs all its efforts to civilize them, even though it may not have reached the culminating point of civilization, yet is not retrogressive; a nation which employs millions of hands for the construction of railways, and daily introduces into its country everything that is useful to man, is not barbarous. Therefore, we do not think that European civilization would run any-

risk, even if the Christian races of the East, after their deliverance, were to fall under Russian influence through the community of religious faith. Perhaps civilization will then receive a great development; for these new Eastern nations, full of life and led by the Hellenic genius, having once tasted the benefits of civilization and liberty, will probably modify somewhat the habit of the olden West, and, by their example, oblige her to have more respect for public opinion, political consistency and national equity, than to applaud the piratical depredations committed by an *Alabama*, on the merchant ships of Americans, who were fighting for the abolition of Slavery, and yet reprobate the exploits of another blockade runner the *Arcadion*, which carried provisions to the Cretans, struggling for their liberty, and saved women and children from dishonour and destruction.

Of all the Christian races in the East the Slav has unquestionably the most affinity to the Russians. Similarity of origin, religion, language, customs and manners, binds this race so closely with Russia, that one may safely assert, that it is an offshoot of the Russian race, and by far the most important of its offshoots; nevertheless, these same Servians are so jealous of their national individuality, that a few years back they hurled from his throne Alexander Karageorgivitch, to whose father they owed in a great degree their independence, and who was personally an estimable and virtuous prince, "solely because they considered that he did not properly represent the sentiment of a Servian nationality." Ask any Slav, and he will not conceal his sympathy with Russia. But when the question is about his nationality, he will tell you that he will not sacrifice it to any foreign Power whatsoever. If it were even a question of a change of masters, the Slavs would much prefer the Turk, from whose weak hands they can hope soon to wrest their independent nationality, to the Russian who, they know, is strong enough to thwart their patriotic aspirations. Therefore, the sympathy of the Slavic race with Russia does not at all imply the aggrandisement of that Power by the fusion of the Slavs with the Russians. On the contrary the independence of the Christian races in the East will

raise an insurmountable barrier against Russian power in that quarter of the Globe. The Dacian race cannot, on account of its origin and language, be at all influenced by Russia, but rather by nations whose language and manners, and customs have a Latin origin.

With regard to the Greek race, one of its distinguishing and unshangeable characteristics is, that time and tyranny, conquest and emigration, have not been able to alter the nationality of the race, or to effect its absorption by other races.

The Greek every where and at every time remains the same, jealous of his nationality, a warm champion of liberty, a devoted patriot, a friend of progress and diffuser of civilization. Besides the example of Epirus, which we have mentioned before, history furnishes us with others, even more surprizing. In the middle ages, as is well known, a great many Greeks emigrated to the shores of the Black Sea, and through all these became intermingled with the native element, yet they preserved their language, manners customs so tenaciously, that a traveller in those parts would think he was in a purely Greek country. In the interior likewise and on the shores of Asia Minor, many Hellenic colonies were established in times immemorial, and yet have never been absorbed by the native element, but have contributed, to the present day, to diffuse the Hellenic language and ideas. But why should we confine ourselves to Asia? Is there not, at this very day, to be found in the island of Corsica, a perfect Hellenic colony, preserving their Greek manners, customs, and language? Are not similar Hellenic colonies to be met with in Italy also, equally unchanged? From all we know, there was only one Hellenic colony which ever became amalgamated with the natives of the place in which they settled, and that was at Marseilles, the modern inhabitants of which, however, though they are in every respect such, yet delight in remembering their Hellenic origin. Many of the manners and customs of the Marseillaise, we are inclined to think, resemble those of the Greeks rather than of the French of Normandy. At Arles, certainly, the dress of the country women is similar to that of the women of Mani.

It is evidently impossible, then, for any other people in the world to efface such a nation, especially in the country of its birth and development, or for any prince or ruler of its own to repress or corrupt its national spirit. This is proved by the sad death of Capod'Istria, the expulsion of Otho, and the fate of the Slavs, who overran Epirus, but were absorbed by the indigenous Hellenes, and left no other tokens of their conquest, than the names of a number of villages. We had almost forgotten to cite a still more notable example. During the decay of Ancient Hellenism the Roman Empire, as is well known, removed its seat to Byzantium, the name of which was afterwards changed into Constantinople. The Empire did not go there for the purpose of strengthening, but in order to extinguish, Hellenism; but what happened? Before very long, there was nothing Roman left to the empire in the East, except the name of its capital, derived from its founder, Constantine. Hellenism had swallowed up all the rest. Therefore we say, the West can run no risk whatever, if she suffers or assists the Christian races in the East to throw off the Ottoman yoke, and to constitute separate independent states. On the contrary, the establishment of such States having the same creed with Russia, but very zealous for their own nationality, and inclining far more to the West than to the North, will serve as a strong and permanent barrier between the North and the West, and prevent every pretext of collision in the East, and prevent the recurrence of wars so destructive to mankind, as that of which the Crimea was a few years ago the theatre.

It may be objected that the West has many material interests in European Turkey, from which England particularly obtains most of the raw materials for her fabrics, and where also she disposes of a great quantity of her manufactured goods. From the East, for instance, England gets cotton at the rate of 5 francs the kilogramme, and sells it back again in a manufactured state for 100 francs, by which exchange she gains annually about L. 20,000,000 sterling. These interests, it is argued by some, would be disturbed and these profits nationally diminished, if the Christian races obtained their freedom.

To this rather selfish argument, we would first of all reply, that so long as European Turkey remains in the hands of the Turks, these commercial advantages will gradually diminish and at last disappear, because it is the Christians who produce the wealth of the East, and the Turks by their oppressive taxation have stripped their Christian subjects almost to the very bones. This we state not only from our own knowledge, but on the authority of English Consuls: « Peasants, in this district, » reports M^r Wrench, Vice Consul at the Dardanelles, « have been obliged to sell their agricultural implements, in order to meet the frequent calls of the Government, and, every day, persons from the town and country are seized by the soldiers and sent to prison, until they or their friends manage to scrape together the money demanded, and so on. »

How can husbandmen who have to sell their agricultural implements, in order to satisfy the tax collector, cultivate their land the following year? That the State of things in the Dardanelles is not exceptional, is proved by the following extract from a trustworthy correspondence of the *Levant Herald*:— « Upon the 120,000 souls inhabiting this province, they imposed an extraordinary tax of L.85,000 sterling, and, moreover, an extraordinary contribution of 200,000 kilos of barley, value about L.40,000 (1). »

Here we find a province of 12,000 inhabitants taxed to the amount of 325,000 P. S. or nearly L. 3 a head. If we suppose, that the family of a husbandman consists of ten members, and that the income it annually derives from the labour of all its members, according to M^r Barker's calculation, amounts to 2038 piastres, the family must get indebted every year to the amount of 962 piastres, in order to pay the taxes.

In the next place, we would observe that, as the Ottoman element in European Turkey is gradually deteriorating and enormously diminishing numerically, it is not in a condition to pay taxes or to cultivate the land. The products of the East must therefore necessarily diminish year by year,

(1) See Bulletin of Levant Herald 44 September 1867.

and there will be a proportionately diminished demand for the manufactured products of the West.

The apprehension some entertain that, if the Christians of the East become free, they might turn their attention to manufactures, and so injure the material interests of the West, and especially of England, is unfounded. So long as European Turkey, which by her raw productions alone is able to support 300,000,0000 of men, is inhabited only by 80,000,000, its inhabitants can never afford to leave their richest lands uncultivated, in order to compete with the West in manufactures. On the contrary, when European Turkey casts off the Ottoman yoke, its fertile soil, its propitious climate, and clear sky, and particularly its communication with the West by steamers and railways, will attract to this region the surplus inhabitants of the overpopulated countries of the West, and particularly of England, and thus will be removed many causes of trouble, sedition and insurrection. The Irishman, for instance, who famishes in the land of his birth, and is obliged to emigrate to Australia, or America, or who remains at home to disturb his native country and rebel against his government, will then find the East an easily accessible and highly advantageous place of settlement.

Some have objected that the Christians of the East are not yet sufficiently civilized for self-government, and have cited the bad government of Greece, where disturbances have never ceased to exist since the creation of the Kingdom, and the condition of the Seven Islands, the material welfare of which, according to M^t Layard, has sensibly deteriorated since their annexation to Greece.

If by good government be meant that which nowadays exists in Turkey, we fully admit that the Christians of the East are not ripe for independence. If by good government is understood that which the Turks have carried on in Crete, which, after taking it from the Venetians with 800,000 inhabitants, they have reduced in the space of two hundred years to a population of 250,000, we fully admit that races eminently active, habituated to live on their own labour, hating tyranny and loving liberty, cannot so far degenerate as to govern a country in such a fashion. How-

can it be supposed that the Greek, the Slav or the Dacian, if delivered from the Turkish yoke, would suffer all his taxes to be squandered in building palaces, in keeping harems, in illuminations and in other empty shows? Would he not demand rather the construction of carriage roads and railways, an equal distribution of justice, the promotion of national education, the development of agriculture, commerce, and navigation, the plantation of trees, and the encouragement of all works of public utility. That such would be their notions of good government, may be inferred from the demands made by the Cretans, just before the outbreak of the insurrection, which is still going on in their island.

What does *Government* mean in Turkey? It means that the subjects of any foreign power, while enjoying the advantages of their respective national jurisdictions, are not at all amenable to local tribunals, and are permitted to commit as many misdeeds, as they please, without being liable to be arrested, tried, or condemned by the Imperial authorities, except with the permission and concurrence of their own Legations. It means a system under which not only the Christian governments, but even the Sultan's own vassal of Egypt has no confidence in the postal service even for the private letters of their subjects; but each of them is obliged to keep a separate post office in Constantinople and other Turkish seaports, as the Turks have been unable to organize a postal service of their own.

Constantinople, as is well known, extends on one side from San Stefano to Buyukdéré, and, on the other, from the Sweet Waters to the Princes Islands. Longitudinally one scarcely can go over this distance in the course of a day; circularly more than two days are required. Now, throughout the length and breadth of this area, comprising the capital of Turkey, no postal communication exists; while every where else one may correspond from one end of the world to the other. The Constantinopolitan, the inhabitant of San Stefano, or of the Prince's Islands, when he wishes to communicate with his partner, his relatives, or his physician, living at Buyukdéré or at Pera, must go himself personally, or send a messenger expresa. It is scarcely two

years since a Turkish subject of Epirus undertook, on his own speculation, to remedy this social want of the so called Turkish administration, by establishing a local Post, which, as far as it went, was satisfactorily worked; but under the *paternal government* of the Sultan, which has such enlightened ministers as Fuad and Aali Pashas, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise a year ago, and, at the present moment, an inhabitant of Constantinople can only communicate personally with any friends who reside in a different quarter of the capital, if he can employ a special messenger to convey a letter. A volume might easily be filled with similar illustrations of what Turkish administration is.

Though some European statesmen may possibly wish to prolong such a system of government in the East, by maintaining the integrity of Turkey, we believe that no power in the world can perpetuate such a state of things, and that the Christians of the East will not tolerate it much longer, but will rise as one man in order to establish another government, be it even as bad as was the government of Greece formerly, or as it still is in the opinion of Mr Layard.

That the administration of the new Kingdom was not satisfactory to the Greeks themselves, was practically demonstrated by many commotions and revolutions of the Hellenes, during the reign of Otho, and by his dethronement. If, however, we inquire into the causes of the inefficient administration of Greece, we shall be astonished at how much progress has been made by so small a State, in spite of its bad government, and its many other disadvantages. Greece up to 1862 scarcely numbered 1,000,000 of inhabitants, and now she numbers about 1,250,000, European diplomacy gave up all her Hellenic provinces and all the islands of the Archipelago to the Turks; and in addition to the burden of royalty, which would have seriously taxed the resources of a more populous and wealthier country, there devolved upon this little Kingdom the just but onerous claims of all their compatriots who were groaning under the Turkish yoke, and who naturally looked to free Greece for assistance as well as sympathy.

These difficulties were aggravated by the inexperience of

the Bavarian and Danish princes, selected by Europe as rulers of the Kingdom.

Notwithstanding, however, the defects of the Government, the population of Greece has doubled during its thirty years' independence, and her revenue has increased tenfold. It was for the purpose of improving their administration, that the Greeks dethroned king Otho, and cast themselves into the arms of England, in the hope that she might endow them with an administration similar to her own, or at least help them to establish a good government. As Prince Alfred was not allowed to accept the Hellenic crown, which was offered to him by universal suffrage, the Greeks accepted Prince George of Denmark, whose name was suggested by England.

Here we may take the opportunity of relating some circumstances not generally known, in explanation of many things which have been the cause of the undeserved blame cast upon the Greek people on account of the inefficient government of their country.

That the dethronement of king Otho and the election of Prince Alfred were events pleasing to England, there is not the least doubt; for Mr. Elliot was at once sent to Athens to thank the Greek nation for its confidence, and to promise the cession of the Seven Islands, if they would elect another King agreeable to England. The Greeks were so much delighted with this offer, that they left England entirely free to choose their King.

After vain negotiations with some other Courts, Prince George of Denmark was at last proposed, and was instantly accepted by the Greeks. The Prince's sister being married to the heir apparent of the English throne, England hoped, no doubt, that the court of Denmark would be so far grateful to her, that she would confide, at all events, the guidance of King George, during his minority, to the English Government. The then King of Denmark, however, left the whole matter to the Prince's father, the present King of Denmark, who confided the guidance of the young King to Count Spremberg. This personage had formerly filled a high position in Denmark, but had been relieved of his functions in consequence of certain charges which were made

against him; and though he was judicially acquitted, his innocence was not, it appears, established quite to the satisfaction of many of the diplomatic body. At all events, Count Sponneck, when he took upon himself the mentorship of King George, evinced an unmistakable eagerness to slight Mr. Elliot, and to thwart the policy of the Government, represented by that Minister. By the Count's advice, the king omitted thanking, in any way whatever, either the English Government or Mr. Elliot, who had so materially contributed to his elevation to the Hellenic throne. How imprudently Count Sponneck discharged the duties of counsellor to the King, is also manifested from a letter he addressed to the Hellenic Government before he came to Greece, in which he declared that none of the Hellenes could put him in the shade near the King. This boast was uttered by a man who had been acquitted by only one vote, and who presumed, in a country where the humblest citizen had rights superior to him, to set himself disdainfully above men like Kallergi, Admiral Kanari, Demetrius Bulgari, and others, any of whom was worthy to mount the throne which they had created with the bones of their fathers, and with their own blood.

When the departure of King George for Greece was fixed, Count Sponneck counselled him to previously visit St. Petersburg. This proceeding so offended the English Government, that Mr. Elliot left London and went as ambassador to Florence, on the eve of the arrival of King George, and Count Sponneck in the English capital. The King was coldly received by the very Ministers who had raised him to the throne, and no State reception, such as is given to royal visitors, was prepared for him. This significant behaviour of the English cabinet failed, however, to convey a lesson to Count Sponneck, who had not been long in Greece before the English Minister, Mr. Scarlet, felt compelled, in consequence of his conduct, to demand his removal. The Count then applied himself to the creation of a Court party, and calumniated those who refused to join him in his intrigues, by representing them to the King as ultra revolutionists and demagogues and partisans of England. The result being that

some were obliged to retire from the service, and others to expatriate themselves. He then formed the royal party of men who were willing to sell their services to any King or government. From that time Count Sponneck regarded every admirer of England and English institutions, as an irreconcilable enemy to himself and his Royal charge, and there were scarcely any whom he did not persecute or slander. This conduct perhaps influenced, in some measure, the English government in their policy with respect to the crisis which shortly afterwards occurred in Denmark. At any rate, it refused then to protect a Court which had behaved so ungratefully to them. It was Count Sponneck who, relying on the party he had formed, counselled the King to send to the National Assembly, which had elected him, that indiscreet Message dated October 6.

We need not say anything about the bad impression which that Message made on such a susceptible and self esteeming people as the Greeks. The Message was followed up immediately by the abolition not only of the Senate, but of the Council of State, two bodies, which were essentially necessary to a good and efficient government. The King next, on the instigation of Count Sponneck, angrily required his uncle Prince Julius to leave the country, on the pretext that he had called a meeting, in the palace, without the King's permission, of a number of leading men, who, if they did not belong altogether to the English party, were, at all events, opposed to that of Count Sponneck, and whom the Prince wished to rally round his nephew's throne, and defend it from the dangerous consequences of the Count's machinations. Prince Julius having been sent away, Count Sponneck became bolder than ever. It was then that he overthrew a Ministry every week, until at length the indignation of the people reached such a pitch, that the Count's dismissal was twice insisted upon as a condition of the formation of a Ministry. The King being persuaded to send the Count away, Greece and the friends of England, were freed from his presence, but unfortunately were not delivered from his pernicious influence, which is felt to this very day.

All this sufficiently explains the displeasure of the Eu-

glish Court against Denmark, but it does not at all justify the doubt expressed by Lord Derby, whether the Cretans would be more prosperous, if they were annexed to Greece. For even if it be the fact that through misgovernment the Seven Islands have not been more prosperous since their annexation, the Greeks alone are not to be blamed; but also—if not more so—the Government of England, who elected their King, and promised them a better government than that of an Otho or a Sponneck.

On the day of his departure from Athens, M^r Elliot wrote as follows, to a Greek who greatly contributed to the de-thronement of Otho and the election of Alfred.

«ATHÈNES, le 8 Avril 1863.

« Il m'est très-agréable de pouvoir quitter Athènes avec
» un espoir fondé que la Grèce va entrer dans une nou-
» velle ère de prospérité, et il me reste toujours une satis-
» faction d'avoir été le témoin de l'admirable exemple de
» prudence et de modération dont votre pays a fait preuve
» pendant une crise prolongée. »

(*Translation*).

«ATHENS 8 Avril 1863.

« It is a great pleasure to me to be able to leave Athens with a well-founded hope that Greece is about to enter on a new era of prosperity, and it will always be a satisfaction to me to have been a witness of the admirable example of prudence and moderation, which your country displayed, during a protracted crisis »

The expectation of M^r Elliot and the English government was disappointed by Count Sponneck's hatred to England, and if, up to this day, Greece is badly governed, the Greeks have more reason to blame the English Government than the latter have to blame them.

The Greeks however have a constitutional form of Government, by which they are able, and ought, to frustrate all intrigues from whatever quarter they may come. By their constitutional opposition they were able to get Count Sponneck sent away, but they have not been able to uproot all his intrigues, being deterred by a reluctance to push

matters to a point which, unfortunately, perhaps cannot be avoided), and which, when it is reached some day, will scarcely please the aristocratic classes of England!

Prosperity is a relative condition, and not only differs among different communities, but in the same community at different epochs. It is not strange, therefore, that the Ionians, the Greeks and the Christians in every part of the Turkish Empire, should at present consider as their greatest felicity their union into one compact and homogeneous State, and consequently reject all the reforms proposed by the Sultan and the Christian Powers. Nor will it be surprising if all of them rise very soon against the intolerable tyranny, which oppresses them, and prefer utter extermination to continuing to be treated as a plaything now by the West, now by the North.

We do not deny that 'Greece,' Servia and Dacia owe to the Christian Powers the independence they at present enjoy; but, it must be confessed, that to them also all the Christian subjects of Turkey owe their untold sufferings, for unquestionably but for the jealousy of the Christian Powers regarding the East, the East would have long ago been regenerated, and the Turkish element would have been confined long since within its ancient limits; or, if it had preferred to remain in Europe, would have experienced the fate of similar races in other parts of the East—the Ottoman inhabitants of Algeria, and those of India, would not at this day be mocking the whole of Christendom.

In view of the fact that the movement of wind
is not sufficient to

keep the fire burning, it is evident that

CONCLUSION.

After all the facts we have stated, and the arguments adduced to prove them, it is evident that it is impossible to live in peace with the Turks in Europe, so long as they are subject to the rule of the latter, who are the minority. We have, on very good authority that Experience has proved, the impossibility of any social fusion between Christians and Turks (1).

From all the facts we have stated, and the consequences we have discussed, we unhesitatingly conclude:

1) That it is impossible for the Christians to live in peace with the Turks in Europe, so long as they are subject to the rule of the latter, who are the minority. We have, on very good authority that Experience has proved, the impossibility of any social fusion between Christians and Turks (1).

We have also proved, by facts, the impossibility of any peaceable association between the Turk and the Christian.

2) That the Turkish race cannot be civilized, because the Koran regards woman as a being of an inferior nature; because the Turks are not individually self-supporting, and because they are destitute of patriotism.

3) That all the industrial arts, trade and commerce, and every pursuit, requiring intelligence, capacity and energy are in the hands of the Christians, while the Turks, are daily degenerating and also diminishing in numbers.

4) That the enemies of the East nowadays are not the Turks, but those who come to proselytize the Christians of the East and to uphold the Turkish dynasty.

5) That in the East only the Christian races are able to establish either separate Christian States or one great Confederation.

6) That all these Christian races are now ready to shake off the Ottoman yoke, and that no human power can prevent them from doing so.

7) That the creation of such Christian States or Confederation, will not increase the influence of Russia in the East, but on the contrary serve as a strong and permanent

(1) See Levant Herald October 23, 1867.

bulwark between the North and the West and a guarantee of peace in the East.

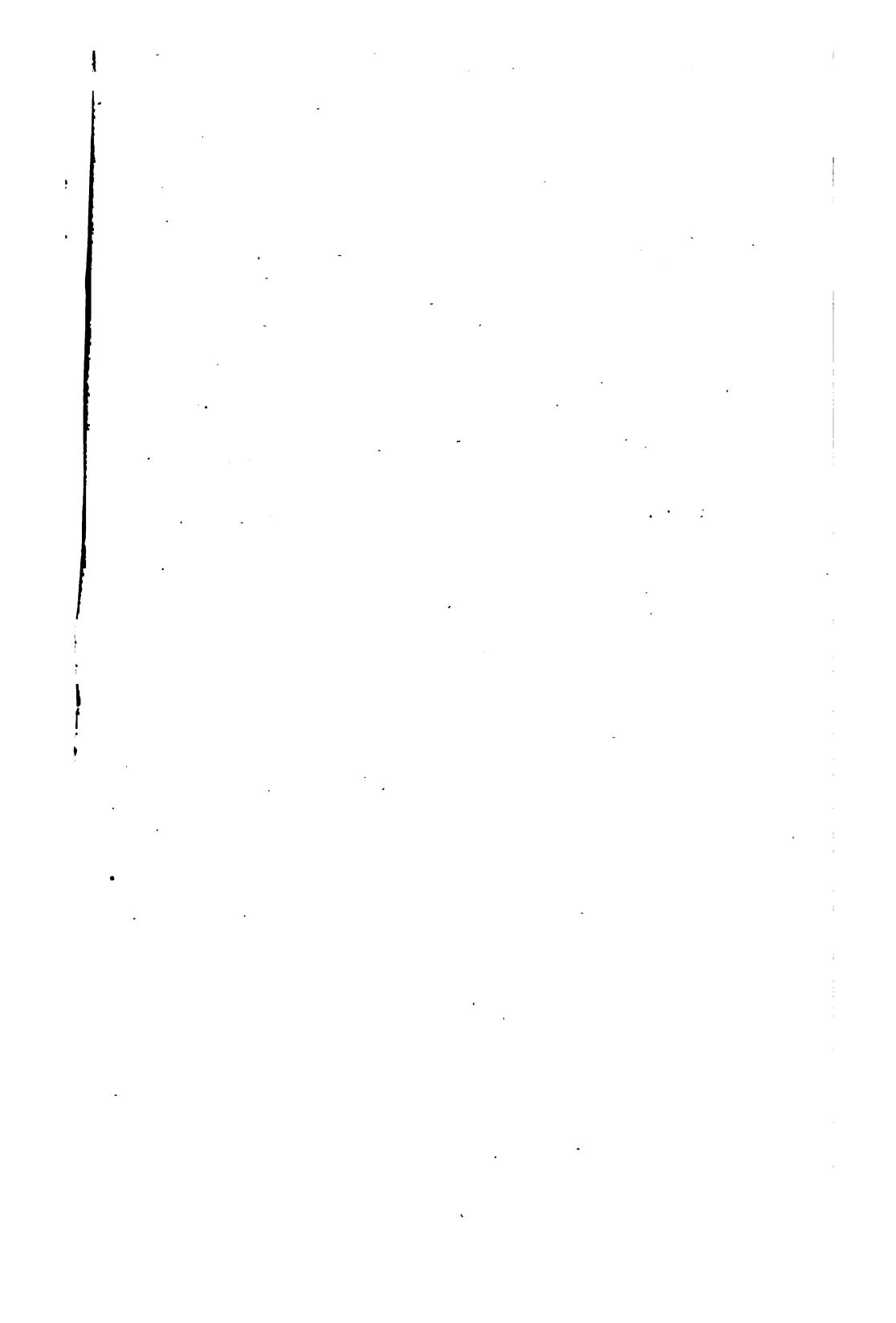
8) That the material interest of the West will not suffer but rather be developed, by the emancipation the Christian subjects of Turkey.

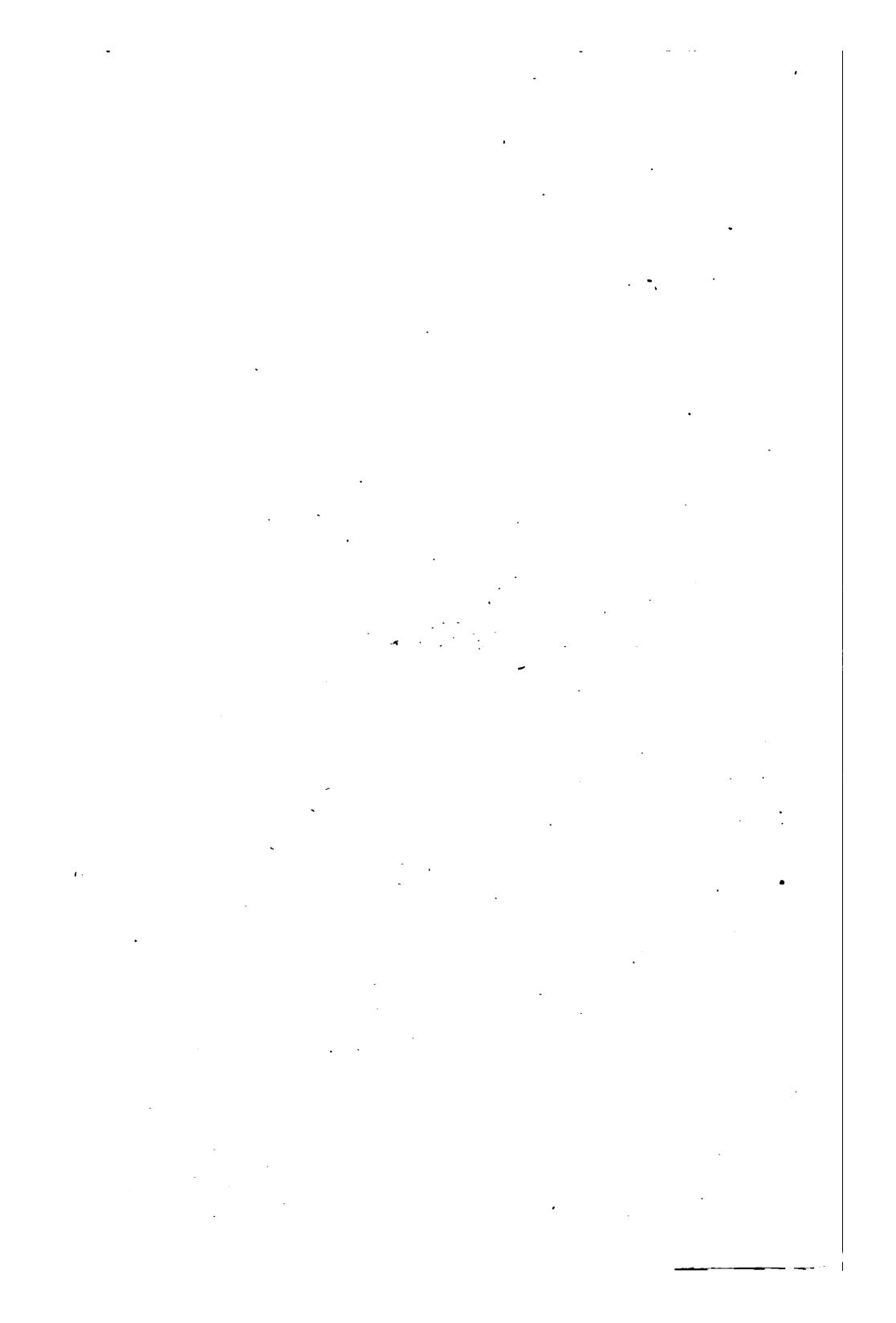
9) That none of the three races in the East has any intention of conquering either of the others.

10) That England has just reason to be irritated with the conduct of Count Sponeck, and of the Government which was carried on under his auspices, but that she has no cause of alienation from the Hellenic King and people; as it was she who chose a young and inexperienced prince as sovereign of the country, and burdened the country with the expenses of royalty, which so small a State was too poor to bear, knowing at the same time that no government whatever would content his subjects as long as their brethren remained in bondage.

11) That it is impossible for Greece to support the expenses of royalty without the annexation of the purely Hellenic provinces and islands, and that, as long as the latter groan under the Turkish yoke, peace is impossible in the East.

FINIS.







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